SELECT

DISSERTATIONS

ON

Colonies and Plantations.

BY

Thoſe CELEBRATED AUTHORS,

SIR JOSIAH CHILD,

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

AND

MR. WILLIAM WOOD.

WHEREIN

The NATURE of PLANTATIONS, and their CONSEQUENCES to GREAT BRITAIN, are ſeriouſly conſidered. And a PLAN propoſed, which may ſettle the UNHAPPY DIFFERENCES between GREAT BRITAIN and AMERICA.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE Work here preſented to the Public, containing Diſſertations on Colonies and Plantations, ſeems, at this critical Conjuncture, to ſtand in Need of little Apology or Introduction; ſince the Thoughts of every Perſon, particularly thoſe celebrated for their Knowledge in Trade, muſt be acceptable to all *Engliſh* Readers; and a Satisfaction to our Politicians to be informed of the Sentiments of thoſe, who maturely conſidered the Subject ſo many Years ago. The bare Name of Sir JOSIAH CHILD, who wrote in 1669, ſtamps a Credit upon every Thing that comes from his Pen: And, as obſerved before, needs no Apology for the Extracts of his Works; nor for thoſe of Dr. D'AVENANT, whoſe Diſcourſe upon the Plantation Trade was publiſhed in 1698. This great Author had likewiſe a peculiar Advantage from the Poſt he enjoyed, (of Inſpector General of the Exports and Imports), which gave him an Opportunity of a thorough Information relative to every Thing which concerns the Trade of *Great Britain:* And as he laid the Plan which has been adopted, and carried on ever ſince, under the Title of *the Plantation Office*, it is preſumed, the Obſervations contained in this Pamphlet for regulating the Buſineſs of the ſeveral Co-

lonies in *America*, will be acceptable to the Public. He recommended that two Deputies ſhould be choſen, from each Province, to meet once a Year or oftner; and that His Majeſty ſhould appoint a Commiſſioner, who ſhould take the Chair, and preſide in the ſaid Congreſs. That the Meeting ſhould be held at *New York*, as being near the Center; and that the Governor thereof ſhould be the King's High Commiſſioner, during the Seſſions, after the Manner of *Scotland*. Dr. *D'Avenant* likewiſe inſerts the Buſineſs proper for the Congreſs, and repreſents ſuch a Conſtitution to reſemble the Court of the *Amphictiones*, being a Council where the general Affairs of *Greece* were debated; which, if they could have preſerved in its original Purity, and according to it's firſt Deſign, that Country had not been ſo early a Conqueſt to the *Romans*. The next Author from whom the third Diſſertation is taken, is Mr. *William Wood*, a Perſon who has written very ably upon the Subject of Trade, as appears by his Work publiſhed in the Year 1718. 1718 E.M.

His Writings are in a plain Style, which ſhow that he conſidered Matter more than Manner: His Book is entitled a SURVEY OF TRADE, wherein is contained, likewiſe, *Conſiderations on Money and Bullion*.

From the above Writers we may obſerve, that *Great Britain*, as well as our Northern and Southern Colonies in *America*, are cloſely united together in Intereſt; and that a regular Syſtem ſhould be adopted, ſo as to render the three ſeveral Eſtates one compact Body; nor would thoſe, who are Friends to the general Syſtem, wiſh that any Thing ſhould divide them; the unhappy Situation in which the *Maſſachuſet's* and *New York* are now brought, may, perhaps, require half a Century to recover; and if they ſhould continue to maintain a civil War in their Country, burning

their

their Towns, and deſtroying their Lands, will make them unfit for Trade whether with us or any other Nation; but as to the Part of *Great Britain*, they may repair that Injury by *Canada*, and make that Country and People rich; which Favour would otherwiſe have been conferred on our preſent Colonies. Theſe Obſervations are made chiefly with a View of ſhowing the *Americans* the Stake they riſque in the preſent Conteſt; and in Hopes, even yet, ſome Plan of Conciliation may be adopted; and if any Thing can be ſuggeſted from this Publication, the Editor will think himſelf happy in having promoted the mutual Welfare of *Great Britain* and *America*.

ERRATA.

Page 37.	Line 6.		for 1788,	read 1688.
—— 39.	—— last but two.	— *again*	—— *a Gain of.*	
—— 45.	—— 9.	— *Principle*	—— *Principal.*	

SELECT

SELECT DISSERTATIONS ON Colonies and Plantations.

DISSERTATION I.

The Nature of Plantations, and their Conſequences to GREAT BRITAIN, *ſeriouſly conſidered.*

By Sir JOSIAH CHILD.

THE Trade of our *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, being now of as great bulk, and employing as much Shipping, as moſt of the Trades of this Kingdom, it ſeems not unneceſſary to diſcourſe more at large concerning the Nature of Plantations, and the good or evil conſequences of them in relation to this and other Kingdoms; and the rather becauſe ſome Gentlemen of no mean capacities are of opinion, that his Majeſtie's Plantations abroad have very much prejudiced this Kingdom, by draining us of our People; for the confirmation of which Opinion, they urge the Example of Spain, which they ſay is almoſt ruined by the depopulation which the *Weſt Indies* hath occaſioned; to the End, therefore, a more particular Scrutiny may be made into this matter, I ſhall humbly offer my Opinion in the following Propoſitions, and then give thoſe Reaſons of Probability, which preſently occur to my Memory, in confirmation of each Propoſition.

1. Firſt I agree, *That Lands* (though excellent) *without Hands proportionable, will not enrich any Kingdom.*

2. *That whatever tends to the depopulating of a Kingdom, tends to the Impoveriſhment of it.*

3. *That moſt Nations in the civilized Parts of the World are more or leſs rich or poor, proportionably to the Paucity or Plenty of their People, and not to the ſterility or fruitfulneſs of their Lands.*

4. *I do not agree that our People in* England *are, in any conſiderable Meaſure, abated by Reaſon of our Foreign Plantations, but propoſe to prove the Contrary.*

5. *I am of Opinion, that we had, immediately before the late Plague, many more People in* England, *than we had before the inhabiting of* Virginia, New England, Barbadoes, *and the reſt of our* American *Plantations.*

6. *That all Colonies or Plantations do endamage their Mother-kingdoms, whereof the Trades of ſuch Plantations are not confined by ſevere Laws, and good executions of thoſe Laws, to the Mother-kingdom.*

7. *That the* Dutch *will reap the greateſt advantage by all Colonies iſſuing from any Kingdom of* Europe, *whereof the Trades are not ſo ſtrictly confined to the proper Mother-kingdoms.*

8. *That the* Dutch, (though they thrive ſo exceedingly in Trade), *will in Probability never endamage this Kingdom, by the Growth of their Plantations.*

9. *That neither the* French, Spaniſh, *nor* Portugueze, *are much to be feared on that account, nor for the ſame, but for other cauſes.*

10. *That it is more for the Advantage of* England, *that* Newfoundland *ſhould remain unplanted, than that Colonies ſhould be ſent or permitted to go thither, to inhabit with a Governor, Laws,* &c.

11. *That* New England *is the moſt prejudicial Plantation to the Kingdom of* England.

I. *That Lands, though in their Nature excellently good, without Hands proportionable, will not enrich any Kingdom.*

This Firſt Propoſition, I ſuppoſe, will readily be aſſented to by all judicious Perſons, and therefore, for the Proof of it, I ſhall only alledge Matter of Fact.

The Land of Paleſtine, *once the richeſt Country in the Univerſe, ſince it came under the Turks dominion, and conſequently unpeopled, is now become the pooreſt.*

Andaluſia and *Granada*, formerly wonderfully rich, and full of good Towns; ſince diſpeopled by the *Spaniard*,

Spaniard, by expulſion of the *Moors*, many of their Towns, and brave Country Houſes, are fallen into rubbiſh, and their whole Country into miſerable Poverty, though their Lands naturally are prodigiouſly fertile.

An Hundred other Inſtances of Fact might be given to the like Purpoſe.

II. *Whatever tends to the populating a Kingdom, tends to the Improvement of it.*

The former Propoſition being granted, I ſuppoſe, this will not be denied; and of the Means, (*viz.* good Laws), whereby any Kingdom may be populated, and conſequently enriched, is in effect the Subſtance and Deſign of all my forgoing Diſcourſe; to which, for avoiding Repetition, I muſt pray the Reader's Retroſpection.

III. *That moſt Nations, in the civilized Parts of the World, are more or leſs Rich or Poor, proportionably to the Paucity or Plenty of their People.*

This Third is a conſequent of the Two former Propoſitions, and the whole World is a Witneſs to the Truth of it: *The Seven United Provinces are certainly the moſt populous Tract of Land in* Chriſtendom, *and for their bigneſs, undoubtedly the richeſt. England* for its bigneſs, except our Foreſts, Waſtes, and Commons, which, by our own Laws and Cuſtoms, are barred from Improvement, I hope, is yet a more populous Country than *France*, and conſequently richer; I ſay, in proportion to its bigneſs: *Italy* in like proportion more populous than *France*, and richer; and *France* more populous and richer than *Spain*, &c.

IV. *I do not agree that our People in* England *are in any conſiderable Meaſure abated, by reaſon of our Foreign Plantations, but purpoſe to prove the Contrary.*

This I know is a controverted Point, and do believe, that where there is one Man of my Mind, there may be a Thouſand of the Contrary; but I hope, when the following Grounds of my Opinion have been thoroughly examined, there will not be ſo many Diſſenters.

That very many People now go, and have gone from this Kingdom, almoſt every Year for theſe ſixty Years paſt, and have and do ſettle in our Foreign Plantations, is moſt certain. But the Firſt Queſtion will be,

Whether if England *had no foreign Plantations for thoſe People to be tranſported unto, they could or would have ſtayed and lived at Home with us?*

I am of Opinion, they neither would nor could.

To reſolve this Queſtion, we muſt conſider what kind of People they were, and are, that have and do tranſport themſelves to our Foreign Plantations.

New England, (as every one knows), *was originally inhabited, and hath ſince ſucceſſively been repleniſhed by a Sort of People called Puritans*, which could not conform to the *Eccleſiaſtical Laws of* England, but being wearied with *Church Cenſures and Perſecutions*, were forced to quit their Fathers Land, to find out New Habitations, as many of them did in *Germany* and *Holland*, as well as at *New England*; and had there not been a *New England* found for ſome of them, *Germany* and *Holland* probably had received the reſt: But *Old England to be ſure had loſt them all.*

Virginia *and* Barbadoes *were firſt peopled by a looſe ſort of vagrant People*, vicious and deſtitute of Means to live at Home, (being either unfit for Labour, or ſuch as could find none to employ themſelves about, or had ſo miſbehaved themſelves by Whoring, Thieving, or other Debauchery, that none would ſet them on Work), which Merchants, and Maſters of Ships by their Agents, (or Spirits as they were called), gathered up about the Streets of *London*, and other Places, cloathed and tranſported, to be employed upon Plantations; and theſe I ſay were ſuch, as had there been no *Engliſh* Foreign Plantation in the World, could probably never have lived at Home to do Service for their Country, but muſt have come to be hanged or ſtarved, or died untimely of ſome of thoſe miſerable Diſeaſes that proceed from Want, and Vice; or elſe have ſold themſelves for Soldiers, to be knockt on the Head, or ſtarved in the Quarrels of our Neighbours, as many Thouſands of brave *Engliſhmen* were in the Low Countries, as alſo in the Wars of *Germany*, *France*, and *Sweden*, &c. or elſe (if they could, by begging, or otherwiſe, arrive to the Stock of Two Shillings and Sixpence, to waft them over to *Holland*,) become Servants to the *Dutch*, who refuſe none.

But the principal Growth and Increaſe of the aforeſaid Plantations of *Virginia* and *Barbadoes* happened in,

in, or immediately after, our late Civil Wars, when the worſted Party by the fate of War, being deprived of their Eſtates, and ſome of them having never been bred to Labour, and others made unfit for it by the lazy habit of a Soldier's Life, there wanting Means to maintain them all abroad with his Majeſty, many of them betook themſelves to the aforeſaid Plantations, and great Numbers of *Scotch* Soldiers of his Majeſty's Army, after *Worceſter* Fight, were by the then prevailing Powers voluntarily ſent thither.

Another great ſwarm, or acceſſion of new Inhabitants to the aforeſaid Plantations, as alſo to *New England*, *Jamaica*, and all other His Majeſty's Plantations in the *Weſt Indies*, enſued upon his Majeſty's Reſtoration, when the former prevailing Party being by a Divine Hand of Providence brought under, the Army diſbanded, many Officers diſplaced, and all the new Purchaſers of publick Titles diſpoſſeſſed of their pretended Lands, Eſtates, *&c.* many became impoveriſhed, deſtitute of Employment; and therefore, ſuch as could find no way of living at Home, *and ſome which feared the re-eſtabliſhment of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, under which they could not live*, were forced to tranſport themſelves, or ſell themſelves for a few Years, to be tranſported by others, to the Foreign Engliſh Plantations. The conſtant ſupply that the ſaid Plantations have ſince had, hath been ſuch vagrant looſe People, as I have before mentioned, picked up eſpecially about the Streets and Suburbs of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and by Malefactors condemned for Crimes, for which by the Law they deſerved to die, and ſome of thoſe People called *Quakers*, *baniſhed for meeting on Pretence of Religious Worſhip*.

Now, if from the Premiſes it be duly conſidered, what kind of Perſons thoſe have been, by which our Plantations have at all Times been repleniſhed, I ſuppoſe it will appear, that ſuch they have been, and under ſuch Circumſtances, that if his Majeſty had had no foreign Plantations, to which they might have reſorted, *England*, however, muſt have loſt them.

To illuſtrate the Truth whereof a little further, let us conſider what Captain *Grant*, the ingenious Author of the *Obſervations upon the Bills of Mortality*, ſaith, (page 76.) and in other Places of his Book, concerning

the City of *London*, and it is not only ſaid, but undeniably proved, *viz. That the City of* London, *let the Mortality be what it will, by Plague, or otherwiſe, repairs its Inhabitants once in Two Years.* And (page 101.) again, If there be Encouragement for an Hundred Perſons in *London*, (that is, a way how an hundred may live better than in the Country), the evacuating of a Third or Fourth Part of that Number, muſt ſoon be ſupplied out of the Country, who, in a ſhort Time remove themſelves from thence hither, ſo long, until the City, for want of Receipt and Encouragement, regurgitates and ſends them back.

1. What he hath proved concerning *London*, I ſay of *England* in general, and the ſame may be ſaid of any Kingdom or Country in the World.

Such as our Employment is for People, ſo many will our People be; and if we ſhould imagine we have in *England* Employment for One hundred People, and we have born and bred amongſt us One hundred and Fifty People; I ſay, the Fifty muſt go away from us or ſtarve, or be hanged to prevent it, whether we had any Foreign Plantations or not.

2. If by Reaſon of the Accommodation of living in our Foreign Plantations, we have evacuated more of our People, than we ſhould have done, if we had no ſuch Plantations, I ſay, with the aforeſaid Author in the caſe of *London*; and if that Evacuation be grown to an exceſs, (which I believe it never did, barely on the account of the Plantations), that Decreaſe would procure its own Remedy; for much want of People would procure greater Wages, and greater Wages, if our Laws gave Encouragement, would procure us a ſupply of People, without the Charge of breeding them, as the *Dutch* are, and always have been ſupplied in their greateſt Extremities.

Objection, But it may be ſaid, Is not the Facility of being tranſported into the Plantations, together with the enticeing Methods, cuſtomarily uſed to perſuade People to go thither, and the Encouragement of living there with a People that ſpeak our own Language, ſtrong Motives to draw our People from us; and do they not draw more from us, than otherwiſe would leave us, to go into Foreign Countries, where they underſtand not the Language?

I anſwer;

I anſwer; 1*ſt*. It is not much more difficult to get a Paſſage to *Holland*, than it is to our Plantations.

2*dly*, Many of thoſe that go to our Plantations, if they could not go thither, would and muſt go into Foreign Countries, though it were Ten Times more difficult to get thither than it is; or elſe, which is worſe, (as it hath been ſaid), would adventure to be hanged, to prevent begging or ſtarving, as too many have done.

3. I do acknowledge, that the facility of getting to the Plantations may cauſe ſome more to leave us, than would do, if they had none but foreign Countries for Refuge: But then if it be conſidered, that our Plantations ſpending moſtly our *Engliſh* Manufactures, and thoſe of all Sorts almoſt imaginable in egregious Quantities, and employing near Two-thirds of all our *Engliſh Shipping*, *do therein give a conſtant Suſtenance to it, and may be two hundred thouſand Perſons here at home;* then I muſt needs conclude upon the whole Matter, that *we have not the fewer, but the more People in* England, *by Reaſon of our* Engliſh *Plantations in* America.

Object. 2. But it may be ſaid, Is not this inferring and arguing againſt Senſe and Experience? Doth not all the World ſee, that the many noble Kingdoms of *Spain* in *Europe* are almoſt depopulated and ruinated, by Reaſon of their Peoples flocking over to the *Weſt Indies?* And do not all other Nations diminiſh in People, after they become poſſeſſed of foreign Plantations.

Anſ. 1. I anſwer, With ſubmiſſion to better Judgements, that, in my Opinion, *contending for uniformity in Religion, hath contributed Ten Times more to the depopulating of* Spain, *than all the* American *Plantations:* What was it but that, which cauſed the Expulſion of ſo many Thouſand *Moors*, who had built and inhabited moſt of the chief Cities and Towns of *Andaluſia*, *Granada*, *Arragon*, and other Parts? What was it but that and the *Inquiſition*, that hath and doth daily expel ſuch vaſt Numbers of rich *Jews* with their Families and Eſtates into *Germany*, *Italy*, *Turky*, *Holland*, and *England?* What was it but that, which cauſed thoſe vaſt and long Wars between that King and the Low Countries, and the effuſion of ſo much *Spaniſh* Blood and Treaſure, and the final Loſs of the *Seven Provinces*,

which we now ſee ſo prodigiouſly rich, and full of People, while *Spain* is empty and poor, and *Flanders* thin and weak, in continual fear of being made a prey to their Neighbours.

Anſw. 2. I anſwer; We muſt warily diſtinguiſh between Country and Country; for though Plantations may have drained *Spain* of People, it does not follow; that they have or will drain *England* or *Holland*; becauſe, where Liberty and Property are not ſo well preſerved, and where Intereſt of Money is permitted to go at 12 *per Cent.* there can be no conſiderable Manufacturing, and no more of Tillage and Grazing, than as we proverbially ſay, will keep Life and Soul together; and where there is little Manufacture, and as little Huſbandry of Lands, the Profit of Plantations, *viz.* The greateſt Part thereof, will not redound to the Mother-kingdom, but to other Countries wherein there are more Manufactures and more Productions from the Earth; from hence it follows, Plantations thus managed prove Drains of the People from their Mother-kingdom; whereas Plantations belonging to Mother-kingdoms, or Countries, where Liberty and Property is better preſerved, and Intereſt of Money reſtrained to a low Rate, the Conſequence is, that every Perſon ſent abroad with the Negroes and Utenſils he is conſtrained to employ, or that are employed with him; it being cuſtomary in our Iſlands in *America*, upon every Plantation, to employ Eight or Ten Blacks for One White Servant; I ſay, in this Caſe, we may reckon, that for Proviſions, Clothes, and Houſehold Goods, Seamen, and all others employed about Materials for Building, Fitting, and Victualling of Ships, *Every* Engliſhman *in* Barbadoes *or* Jamaica *creates Employment for Four Men at Home.*

3*dly*, I anſwer, That *Holland* now ſends as many, and more People yearly, to reſide in their Plantations, Fortreſſes, and Ships in the *Eaſt Indies*, (beſides many into the *Weſt Indies*) than *Spain*, and yet is ſo far from declining in the Number of their People at Home, that it is evident they do monſtrouſly encreaſe: And ſo I hope, under the next Head, to prove that *England* hath conſtantly encreaſed in People at Home, ſince our Settlement upon Plantations in *America*, although not in ſo great a Proportion as the *Dutch*.

V. *I am of Opinion that we had immediately, before the late Plague, more People in* England, *than we had before the inhabiting of* New England, Virginia, Barbadoes, *&c.*

The Proof of this at beſt I know can but be conjectural; but in Confirmation of my Opinion, I have, I think of my Mind the moſt induſtrious *Engliſh* Calculator this Age hath produced in publick, *viz.* Captain *Grant*, in the forementioned Treatiſe, Page 88. His Words are, "Upon the whole Matter we may there-"fore conclude, that the People of the whole Nation "do encreaſe, and conſequently the Decreaſe of *Win-*"*cheſter*, *Lincoln*, and other like Places, muſt be attri-"buted to other Reaſons than that of refurniſhing "*London* only."

2. It is manifeſt by the aforeſaid worthy Author's Calculations, that the Inhabitants of *London*, and Parts adjacent, have encreaſed to almoſt Double within theſe ſixty Years, and that City hath been uſually taken for an Index of the whole.

I know it will be ſaid, that although *London* have ſo encreaſed, other Parts have as much diminiſhed, whereof ſome are named before; but if to anſwer the Diminution of Inhabitants in ſome particular Places, it be conſidered how others are encreaſed, *viz. Yarmouth*, *Hull*, *Scarborough*, and other Ports in the *North*; as alſo *Liverpoole*, *Weſtcheſter*, and *Briſtol*; *Portſmouth*, *Lime*, and *Plymouth*; and withal if it be conſidered what great Improvements have been made this laſt ſixty Years upon breaking up and encloſing of Waſtes, Forreſts, and Parks, and draining of the Fens, and all thoſe Places inhabited and furniſhed with Huſbandry; *&c.* then I think it will appear probable that we have in *England* now, at leaſt had before the late Plague, more People than we had before we firſt entered upon Foreign Plantations, notwithſtanding likewiſe the great Numbers of Men which have iſſued from us into *Ireland*; which Country, as our Laws now are, I reckon not among the Number of Plantations profitable to *England*, nor within the Limits of this Diſcourſe, although, peradventure, ſomething may be pickt out of theſe Papers, which may deſerve conſideration in relation to that Country.

But

But it may be ſaid, If we have more People now than in former Ages, how came it to paſs, that in the Times of the Kings *Henry* IV. & V. and other Times formerly, we could raiſe ſuch great Armies, and employ them in foreign Wars, and yet retain a ſufficient number to defend the Kingdom, and cultivate our Lands at Home?

I Anſwer; *Firſt*, The bigneſs of Armies is not always a certain Indication of the numerouſneſs of a Nation, but ſometimes rather of the Nature of the Government, and Diſtribution of the Lands; as for Inſtance, Where the Prince and Lords are Owners of the whole Territory, although the People be thin, the Armies upon Occaſion may be very great, as in *Eaſt India*, *Turkey*, and the Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*, where *Taffelet* was ſaid to have an army of One hundred and fifty, or Two hundred thouſand men, although every Body knows that Country hath as great a ſcarcity of People, as any in the World. But ſince Freeholders are ſo much encreaſed in *England*, and the ſervile Tenures altered, doubtleſs it is more difficult, as well as more chargeable to draw great numbers of men into foreign Wars.

2. Since the Introduction of the new Artillery of Powder, Shot, and Fire-arms into the World, all War is become as much rather an Expence of Money as Men, and Succeſs attends thoſe that can moſt and longeſt ſpend Money rather than Men; and conſequently *Princes Armies in* Europe *are become more proportionable to their Purſes, than to the Numbers of their People.*

VI. *That all Colonies and foreign Plantations do endamage their Mother-kingdoms, whereof the Trades of ſuch Plantations are not confined to their ſaid Mother-kingdoms, by good Laws, and ſevere Execution of thoſe Laws.*

1. *The practice of all the Governments of* Europe, *witneſs to the Truth of this Propoſition.* The *Danes* keep the Trade of *Iceland* to themſelves; the *Dutch Surinam*, and all their Settlements in *Eaſt India*; the *French St. Chriſtophers*, and their other Plantations in the *Weſt Indies*; the *Portugueſe Brazil*, and all the Coaſts thereof; the *Spaniards*, all their vaſt Territories upon the Main in the *Weſt Indies*, and many Iſlands there; and our own Laws ſeem to deſign the like,

as

as to all our Plantations in *New England*, *Virginia*, *Barbadoes*, &c. although we have not yet arrived to a compleat and effectual Execution of thoſe Laws.

2. Plantations being at firſt furniſhed, and afterwards ſucceſſively ſupplied with People from their Mother Kingdoms, and People being Riches, that Loſs of People to the Mother Kingdoms, be it more or leſs, is certainly a Damage, except the Employment of thoſe People abroad, do cauſe the Employment of ſo many more at Home in their Mother Kingdoms, and that can never be, except the Trade be reſtrained to their Mother Kingdom, which will not be doubted by any that underſtands the next Propoſition, *viz.*

VII. *That the* Dutch *will reap the greateſt Advantage by all Colonies, iſſuing from any Kingdom in* Europe, *whereof the Trades are not ſo ſtrictly confined to their proper Mother Kingdoms.*

This Propoſition will readily be aſſented unto by any that underſtand the Nature of low Intereſt and low Cuſtoms: Where the Market is free, they ſhall be ſure to have the Trade that can ſell the beſt Penny-worths, that buy deareſt and ſell cheapeſt, which (Nationally ſpeaking) none can do but thoſe that have Money at the loweſt Rate of Intereſt, and pay the leaſt Cuſtoms, which are the *Dutch*; and this is the true Cauſe why, before the Act of Navigation, there went Ten *Dutch* Ships to *Barbadoes* for one *Engliſh*.

VIII. That the *Dutch*, (though they thrive ſo exceedingly in Trade) *will in probability never endamage this Kingdom by the Growth of their Plantations.*

1. In Fact the *Dutch* never did much thrive in Planting, for I do remember, they had, about Twenty Years paſt, *Tobago*, a moſt fruitful Iſland in the *Weſt Indies*, apt for Production of Sugars and all other Commodities that are propagated in *Barbadoes*, and as I have heard Planters affirm, better accommodated with Rivers for Water Mills, which are of great Uſe for grinding of the Canes; this Iſland is ſtill in their Poſſeſſion, and *Coraſoa*, and ſome others; and about Sixteen or Seventeen Years paſt, they were ſo eager upon the Improvement of it, that beſides what they did in *Holland*, they ſet up Bills upon the *Exchange* in *London*, proffering great Privileges to any that would tranſport themſelves thither. Notwithſtanding all which, to this Day,

Day, that Iſland is not the tenth Part ſo well improved as *Jamaica* hath been by the *Engliſh* within theſe Five Years; neither have the *Dutch* at any other Time, or in any other Parts of the World, made any Improvement by Planting; what they do in the *Eaſt Indies* being only by War, Trade, and Building of fortified Towns and Caſtles upon the Sea Coaſts, to ſecure the ſole Commerce of the Places, and with the People which they conquer; not by clearing, breaking up of the Ground, and Planting, as the *Engliſh* have done.

This I take to be a ſtrong Argument of Fact to my preſent Purpoſe.

2. The ſecond Argument to prove this Propoſition, is from Reaſon: I have before mentioned the ſeveral Accidents and Methods by which our foreign Plantations have from Time to Time come to be peopled and improved.

Now the *Dutch* being void of thoſe Accidents, are deſtitute of the Occaſions to improve foreign Plantations, by digging and delving as the *Engliſh* have done.

For 1ſt. In *Holland*, their Intereſt and Cuſtom being low, together with their other Encouragements to Trade, mentioned in the former Parts of this Treatiſe, gives Employment to all their People born and bred amongſt them, and alſo to multitudes of Foreigners.

2. *Their giving Liberty, or at leaſt Connivance to all Religious, as well* Jews *and* Roman Catholicks, *as* Sectaries, gives Security to all their Inhabitants at Home, and expels none, nor puts a Neceſſity upon any to baniſh themſelves upon that Account.

3. Their careful and wonderful providing for and employing their Poor at Home, puts all their People utterly out of Danger of Starving, or Neceſſity of Stealing, and conſequently out of Fear of Hanging; I might add to this, that they have not for a long Time had any Civil War among them; and from the whole conclude, that the *Dutch* as they did never, ſo they never can or will, thrive by Planting; and that our *Engliſh* Plantations abroad are a good Effect, proceeding from many evil Cauſes.

IX. *That neither the* French, Spainards, *or* Portugueze *are much to be feared on the Account of Planting, not for the ſame, but for other Reaſons.*

That

That the *French* have had Footing in the *Weſt Indies*, almoſt as long as the *Engliſh*, is certain, and that they have made no conſiderable Progreſs in Planting, is as certain, and finding it ſo in Fact, I have been often exerciſing my Thoughts about Enquiry into the Reaſon thereof, which I attribute eſpecially to two.

Firſt, Becauſe *France* being an abſolute Government, hath not, until very lately, given any Countenance or Encouragement to Navigation and Trade.

Seeondly, and principally, becauſe the *French* Settlements in the *Weſt Indies*, have not been upon Free-holders as the *Engliſh* are, but in Subjection to the *French Weſt India Company*; which Company, being under the *French King*, as *Lord Proprietor* of the Places they ſettle upon, and taxing the Inhabitants at Pleaſure, as the King doth them, it is not probable they ſhould make that ſucceſsful Progreſs in Planting; *Property, Freedom, and Inheritance being the moſt effectual Spurs to Induſtry.*

2. Though ſome, (who have not looked far into this Matter,) may think the *Spaniards* have made great Progreſs in Planting, I am of Opinion, that the *Engliſh*, ſince the Time they ſet upon this Work, have cleared and improved fifty Plantations for One, and built as many Houſes, for one the *Spaniards* have built; this will not be very difficult to imagine, if it be conſidered.

Firſt, That it is not above Fifty or Sixty Years ſince the *Engliſh* intended the propagating foreign Plantations.

Secondly, That the *Spaniards* were poſſeſſed of the *Weſt Indies*, about our King *Henry* the VII's. Time which is Two hundred Years paſt.

Thirdly, That what the *Spaniards* hath done in the *Weſt Indies*, hath been Ten Times more by Conqueſt, then by Planting.

Fourthly, That the *Spaniards* found, in the *Weſt Indies*, moſt of the Cities and Towns ready built and inhabited, and much of the Ground improved and cultivated before their coming thither.

Fifthly, That the Inhabitants which they found there, and ſubdued, were ſuch a people, with whom ſome of the *Spaniards* could and have mixed, from whence hath proceeded a Generation of People, which they call *Miſtiſes*; whereas the *Engliſh*, where they have ſet down and planted, either found none, or ſuch as were

mere

mere wild Heathens, with whom they could not, nor ever have been known to mix.

Sixthly, That now after ſuch a long Series of Time, the *Spaniards* are ſcarce ſo populous in any Part of the *Weſt Indies*, as to be able to bring an Army of Ten thouſand Men together in a Month's Time.

From all which I conjecture;

Firſt, *That His Majeſty hath now more* Engliſh Subjects *in all his foreign Plantations, in Sixty Years, than the King of* Spain *hath* Spaniards *in all his, in Two hundred Years.*

Secondly, *That the* Spaniards *Progreſs in Planting bears no Proportion to the Encreaſe of the* Engliſh *Plantations.*

Thirdly, That ſeeing the *Spaniards*, in the Time of their greateſt Proſperity, and under ſo many Advantages, have been ſuch indifferent Planters, and have made ſo ſlow Progreſs in peopling thoſe Parts of the *Weſt Indies*, which they poſſeſs, *It is not much to be feared that ever the* Engliſh *will be mated by the* Spaniards *in their foreign Plantations, or Production of the native Commodities of thoſe Parts.*

Now, the Reaſons why the *Spaniards* are ſo thin of People in the *Weſt Indies*, I take to be ſuch as the following, *viz.*

Firſt, and principally, *Becauſe they exerciſe the ſame Policy and Governments, Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, in their Plantations, as they do in their Mother Kingdom*; from whence it follows, that their People are few and thin abroad, from the ſame Cauſes, as they are empty and void of People at Home; whereas, although *we in* England *vainly endeavour to arive at a Uniformity of Religion at Home, yet we allow an* Amſterdam *Liberty in our Plantations.*

It is true, *New England* being a more independant Government from this Kingdom, than any other of our Plantations, and the People that went thither, more One peculiar Sort or Sect, than thoſe that went to the reſt of our Plantations, they did for ſome Years paſt exerciſe ſome Severities againſt the *Quakers*; but of late, they have underſtood their true Intereſt better, inſomuch as I have not heard of any Act of that Kind for theſe Five or Six Years laſt, notwithſtanding am well informed, that there are now amongſt them many more

more *Quakers* and other *Diſſenters* from the Forms of religious Worſhip, then were at the Time of their greateſt Severity, which Severity hath no other Effect, but to encreaſe the *New England Non-conformiſts*.

Secondly, A Second Reaſon why the Productions of the *Spaniſh Weſt India* Commodities are ſo inconſiderable in reſpect to the *Engliſh*, and conſequently why their Progreſs in Planting hath been, and is like to be much leſs than the *Engliſh*, as alſo the Encreaſe of their People, I take to be the Dearneſs of the Freight of their Ships, which is Four Times more than our *Engliſh* Freight; and if you would know how that comes to be ſo, Twelve *per cent.* Intereſt will go a great Way towards the Satisfying you, although there are other concomitant leſſer Cauſes, which, whoſoever underſtands *Spain*, or ſhall carefully read this Treatiſe, may find out themſelves.

Thirdly, A Third Reaſon I take to be the Greatneſs of the Cuſtoms in *Old Spain*; for undoubtedly *high Cuſtoms do as well dwarf Plantations as Trade.*

Fourthly, The *Spaniards* intenſe and ſingular Induſtry in their Mines for Gold and Silver, the Working wherein deſtroys abundance of their People, at leaſt of their Slaves, doth cauſe them to neglect, in great Meaſure, Cultivating of the Earth, and producing Commodities from the Growth thereof, which might give Employment to a greater Navy, as well as Suſtenance to a far greater Number of People by Sea and Land.

Fifthly, Their Multitude of *Friars*, *Nuns*, *and other recluſe and eccleſiaſtical Perſons* which are prohibited from *Marriage*.

Thirdly, The Third Sort of People I am to diſcourſe of, are the *Portugueſe*, and them I muſt acknowledge to have been great Planters in the *Brazils* and other Places; but yet, if we preſerve our People and Plantations by Good Laws, I have Reaſon to believe, that the *Portugueſe*, (except they alter their Politicks, which is almoſt impoſſible for them to do,) can never bear up with us, much leſs prejudice our Plantations.

That hitherto they have not hurt us, but we them, is moſt apparent; for in my Time, we have beat their *Muſcovado* and *Paneal Sugars* quite out of Uſe in *England*, and their *Whites* we have brought down in all theſe Parts of *Europe*, in Price, from Seven and Eight Pounds

Pounds *per Cent.* to Fifty Shillings and Three Pounds *per Cent.* and in quantity; whereas formerly, their *Brazil Fleets* conſiſted of One hundred, to One hundred and twenty thouſand Cheſts of Sugar, they are now reduced to about Thirty thouſand Cheſts, ſince the great Increaſe of *Barbadoes.*

The Reaſon of this Decay of the Portugueſe *Productions in Brazils, is certainly the better Policy our* Engliſh *Plantations are founded upon.*

That which principally dwarfs the *Portugueſe Plantations*, is the ſame before-mentioned, which hinders the *Spaniards*, viz. *extraordinary high Cuſtoms at Home, high Freights, high Intereſt of Money, Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, &c.

From all that hath been ſaid concerning Plantations in general, I draw theſe Two principal Concluſions.

Firſt, *That our* Engliſh Plantations *may thrive beyond any other Plantations in the World, though the Trades of all of them were more ſeverely limited by Laws, and good Execution of theſe Laws to their Mother Kingdom of* England, *excluſive to* Ireland *and* New England.

Secondly, *That it is in His Majeſtie's Power, and the Parliament's if they pleaſe, by taking off all Charges from Sugar, to make it more entirely an* Engliſh Commodity, *than White Herrings are a* Dutch Commodity, *and to draw more Profit to this Kingdom thereby, than the* Dutch *do by that: And that, in Conſequence thereof, all Plantations of other Nations muſt, in few Years, ſink to little or nothing.*

X. *That it is more for the Advantage of* England, *that* Newfoundland *ſhould remain unplanted, than that Colonies ſhould be ſent or permitted to go thither to inhabit under a Governour, Laws*, &c.

I have before diſcourſed of Plantations in general, moſt of the *Engliſh* being in their Nature much alike, except this of *New Foundland*, and that of *New England*, which I intend next to ſpeak of.

The Advantage *New Foundland* hath brought to this Kingdom, is only by the Fiſhery there; and of what vaſt Concernment that is, is well known to moſt Gentlemen and Merchants, eſpecially thoſe of the Weſt Parts of *England*, from whence eſpecially this Trade is driven.

It is well known, upon undeniable Proof, that in the Year 1605, the *Engliſh* employed 250 Sail of Ships

Ships ſmall and great, in fiſhing upon that Coaſt; and it is now too apparent, that we do not ſo employ, from all Parts, above eighty Sail of Ships.

It is likewiſe generally known and confeſſed, that when we employed ſo many Ships in that Trade, the current Price of our Fiſh in that Country, was (*Communibus Annis*,) 17 Rials, which is 8 *s.* 6 *d. per* Quintal, and that ſince, as we have leſſened in that Trade, the *French* have encreaſed in it, and that we have annually proceeded to raiſe our Fiſh from 17 Rials to 24 Rials, or 12 *s.* (*Communibus Annis*) as it now ſells in the Country.

This being the Caſe of *England* in Relation to this Trade, it is certainly worth the Enquiry,

1ſt, *How we came to decay in that Trade.*

2dly, *What Means may be uſed to recover our antient Greatneſs in that Trade, or at leaſt to prevent our further Diminution therein?*

The Decay of that Trade I attribute,

Firſt, and principally, to the growing Liberty which is every Year more and more uſed in *Romiſh* Countries, as well as others, of eating Fleſh in *Lent* and on Fiſh-days.

2. To a late Abuſe crept into that Trade, (which hath much abated the Expence within theſe twenty Years of that Commodity,) of ſending over private Boat-keepers, which hath much diminiſhed the Number of the Fiſhing-Ships.

3. To the great Increaſe of the *French* Fiſhery of *Placentia*, and other Ports on the Back-ſide of *Newfoundland.*

4. To the ſeveral Wars we have had at Sea within theſe twenty Years, which have much empoveriſhed the Merchants of our Weſtern Parts, and reduced them to carry on a great Part of that Trade at Bottomry, *viz.* Money taken upon Adventure of the Ship at twenty *per Cent. per Annum.*

2dly, *What Means may be uſed to recover our antient Greatneſs in that Trade, or at leaſt to prevent our farther Diminution therein.*

For this, two contrary Ways have been propounded.

1. To ſend a Governor to reſide there, and to encourage People to inhabit there, as well for Defence of the

Country againſt Invaſion, as manage the Fiſhery there by Inhabitants upon the Place; this hath often been propounded by the Planters and ſome Merchants of *London*.

2. The ſecond Way propounded, and which is directly contrary to the former is, by the *Weſt Country* Merchants and Owners of the Fiſhing-Ships, and that is to have no Governor nor Inhabitants permitted to reſide at *Newfoundland*, nor any Paſſengers, or private Boat-keepers ſuffered to fiſh at *Newfoundland*.

This latter Way propounded is moſt agreeable to my Propoſition, and if it could be effected, I am perſuaded would revive the decayed *Engliſh* Fiſhing-Trade at *Newfoundland*, and be otherwiſe greatly for the Advantage of this Kingdom; and that for theſe following Reaſons,

1. Becauſe *moſt of the Proviſions the Planters which are ſettled at* Newfoundland *do make uſe of*, viz. *Bread, Beef, Pork, Butter, Cheeſe, Clothes, and* Iriſh *Bandel Cloth, Linen, and Woollen*, Iriſh *Stockings, as alſo Nets, Hooks, and Lines*, &c. *they are ſupplied with from* New England *and* Ireland; *and with Wine, Oil, and Linen by the Salt Ships from* France *and* Spain, *in Conſequence whereof the Labour, as well as the Feeding and Clothing of ſo many Men is loſt to* England.

2. The Planters ſettled there, being moſtly looſe vagrant People, and without Order and Government, do keep diſſolute Houſes, which have debauched Seamen, and diverted them from their laborious and induſtrious Calling; whereas, before there were Settlements there, the Seamen had no other Reſort during the Fiſhing Seaſon, (being the Time of their Abode in that Country;) but to their Ships, which afforded them convenient Food and Repoſe, without the Inconveniences of Exceſs.

3. If it be the Intereſt of all Trading Nations principally to encourage Navigation, and to promote eſpecially thoſe Trades which employ moſt Shipping; (than which nothing is more true, and more regarded by the wiſe *Dutch*:) Then certainly it is the Intereſt of *England* to diſcountenance and abate the Number of Planters at *Newfoundland*, for if they ſhould encreaſe, it would in a few

a few Years happen to us in Relation to that Country as it hath to the Fiſhery at *New England*, which many Years ſince was managed by *Engliſh* Ships from the Weſtern Ports; but as Plantations there encreaſed, fell to be the ſole Employment of the People ſettled there, and nothing of that Trade left the poor old *Engliſh* Men, but the Liberty of carrying now and then by Courteſy or Purchaſe, a Ship-loading of Fiſh to *Bilvoa*, when their own new *Engliſh* Shipping are better employed, or not at Leizure to do it.

4. *It is manifeſt that before there were Boat-keepers, or Planters at* Newfoundland, *Fiſh was ſold cheaper than now it is, by about forty* per Cent. and conſequently more vended; the Reaſon whereof I take to be this; the Boat-keepers and Planters, being generally at firſt able Fiſhermen, and being upon the Place, can doubtleſs afford their Fiſh cheaper than the Fiſhing Ships from *Old England*, ſo doubtleſs they did at firſt as well at *New England* as at *Newfoundland*, until they had beat the *Engliſh* Ships out of the Trade; after which being freed from that Competition, they became lazy as to that laborious Employment, having Means otherwiſe to live and employ themſelves, and thereupon enhaunced the Price of their Fiſh to ſuch an Exceſs, as in Effect proves the giving away of that Trade to the *French*, who by our aforeſaid impolitick Management of that Trade, have of late Years been able to under-ſell us at all Markets abroad; and moſt certain it is, that thoſe that can ſell cheapeſt will have the Trade.

5. *This Kingdom being an Iſland, it is our Intereſt, as well for our Preſervation as our Profit, not only to have many Seamen, but to have them as much as may be within Call in a Time of Danger.* Now the Fiſhing Ships going out in *March*, and returning Home for *England* in the Month of *September* yearly, and there being employed in that Trade two hundred and fifty Ships, which might carry about ten thouſand Seamen, Fiſhermen, and Shoremen, as they uſually call the younger Perſons who were never before at Sea: I appeal to the Reader, whether ſuch a yearly Return of Seamen, abiding at Home with us all the Winter, and ſpending their Money here which they got in their Summer Fiſhery, were not a great Acceſs of Wealth and Power to this Kingdom, and a

ready Supply for his Majeſty's Navy upon all Emergencies,

6. *The Fiſhing Ships yet are, and always have been, the Breeders of Seamen;* the Planters and Boatkeepers are generally ſuch as were bred, and became expert at the Coſt of the Owners of Fiſhing Ships, which Planters and Boatkeepers enter very few new or green Men.

7. By the building, fitting, victualling, and repairing of fiſhing Ships, Multitudes of *Engliſh* Tradeſmen and Artificers (beſides the Owners and Seamen) gain their Subſiſtance; whereas by the Boats which the Planters and Boat-keepers build, or uſe at *Newfoundland*, *England* gets nothing.

Object. But againſt all that I have ſaid, thoſe that contend for a Governor at *Newfoundland*, object,

1. That without a Governor and Government there, that Country will be always expoſed to the Surprizal of the *French*, or any Foreigners that ſhall pleaſe to attack it.

2. That the Diſorders of the Planters, which I complain of (and ſome others, which for Brevity's Sake, I have not mentioned) cannot be remedied without a Governor.

To which I anſwer, Firſt, that when we cannot preſerve our Colonies by our Shipping, or ſo awe our Neighbours by our Fleets and Ships of War, that they dare not attempt them, our Caſe will be ſad, and our Property will be loſt, or in imminent Danger, not only Abroad, but at Home likewiſe.

2*dly*, All the Fiſh that is killed at *Newfoundland* in a Summer, is not ſufficient to maintain Strength enough on Shore to defend two fiſhing Harbours againſt ten Men of War, whereas that Country hath more Harbours to defend, than are to be found in *Old England*.

3*dly*, If a Governor be eſtabliſhed, the next Conſequence will be a Tax upon the Fiſhing, and the leaſt Tax will encreaſe the Price of Fiſh, and that unavoidably will give the Trade away wholly into the *French* Hands.

4*thly*, A Government there is already of antient Cuſtom among the Maſters of the fiſhing-Ships, to which the Fiſhermen are inured, and that free from Oppreſſion, and adapted to the Trade, inſomuch that although a better might be wiſhed, I never hope to ſee it.

XI. *That* New England *is the moſt prejudicial Plantation to this Kingdom.*

I am

I am now to write of a People, whoſe Frugality, Induſtry, and Temperance, and the Happineſs of whoſe Laws and Inſtitutions do promiſe to themſelves long Life, with a wonderful Increaſe of People, Riches, and Power: And although Men ought to envy that Virtue and Wiſdom in others, which themſelves either can or will not practiſe, but rather to commend and admire it; yet I think it is the Duty of every good Man primarily to reſpect the Wellfare of his native Country; and therefore though I may offend ſome, whom I would not willingly diſpleaſe, I cannot omit in the Progreſs of this Diſcourſe, to take Notice of ſome Particulars, wherein Old England *ſuffers Diminution by the Growth of thoſe Colonies ſettled in* New England, and how that Plantation differs from thoſe more Southerly, with Reſpect to the Gain or Loſs of this Kingdom, *viz.*

1. All our *American* Plantations, except that of *New England*, produce Commodities of different Natures from thoſe of this Kingdom, as Sugar, Tobacco, Cocoa, Wool, Ginger, ſundry Sorts of dying Wood, *&c.* Whereas *New England* produces generally the ſame we have here, *viz.* Corn and Cattle; ſome Quantity of Fiſh they do likewiſe kill, but that is taken and ſaved altogether by their own Inhabitants, which prejudiceth our *Newfoundland* Trade, where, as hath been ſaid, very few are, or ought, according to Prudence, to be employed in thoſe Fiſheries, but the Inhabitants of *Old England.*

The other Commodities we have from them, are ſome few great Maſts, Furs, and Train-Oil, whereof the yearly Value amounts to very little, the much greater Value of Returns from thence being made in Sugar, Cotton, Wool, Tobacco, and ſuch like Commodities, which they firſt receive from ſome other of his Majeſty's Plantations, in Barter for dry Cod-Fiſh, Salt, Mackarel, Beef, Pork, Bread, Beer, Flour, Peaſe, *&c.* which they ſupply *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. with, to the Diminution of the Vent of thoſe Commodities from this Kingdom; the great Experience whereof in our *Weſt-India* Plantations would ſoon be found in the Advantage of the Value of our Lands in *England*, were it not for the vaſt and almoſt incredible Supplies thoſe Colonies have from *New England.*

2. The People of *New England*, by Virtue of their primitive Charters, being ſo ſtrictly tied to the Obſervations of the Laws of this Kingdom, do ſometimes aſſume a Liberty of Trading, contrary to the *Act of Navigation*, by Reaſon whereof many of our *American* Commodities, eſpecially Tobacco and Sugar, are tranſported in *New Engliſh* Shipping, directly into *Spain*, and other foreign Countries, without being landed in *England*, or paying any Duty to his Majeſty, which is not only Loſs to the King, and a Prejudice to the Navigation of *Old England*, but alſo a total Excluſion of the *Old Engliſh* Merchant from the Vent of thoſe Commodities in thoſe Ports, where the *New Engliſh* Veſſels trade; becauſe, there being no Cuſtom paid on thoſe Commodities in *New England*, and a great Cuſtom paid upon them in *Old England*, it muſt neceſſarily follow that the *New Engliſh* Merchant will be able to afford his Commodity much cheaper at the Market, than the *Old Engliſh* Merchant: And thoſe that can ſell cheapeſt, will infallibly engroſs the whole Trade ſooner or later.

3. Of all the *American* Plantations, his Majeſty hath none ſo apt for the Building of Shipping as *New England*, nor none ſo comparably qualified for breeding of Seamen, not only by Reaſon of the natural Induſtry of that People, but principally by Reaſon of their Cod and Mackerel Fiſheries: And, in my poor Opinion, here is nothing more prejudicial, and in Proſpect more dangerous to any Mother Kingdom, than the Increaſe of Shipping in their Colonies, Plantations, or Provinces.

4. The People that evacuate from us to *Barbadoes* and the other *Weſt India* Plantations, as was before hinted, do commonly work one *Engliſh* Man to ten or eight Blacks; and if we keep the Trade of our ſaid Plantations entirely to *England*, *England* would have no leſs Inhabitants, but rather an Increaſe of People by ſuch Evacuation, becauſe that one *Engliſh* Man, with the ten Blacks that work with him, accounting what they eat, uſe, and wear, would make Employment for four Men in *England*, as was ſaid before; whereas, peradventure, of ten Men that iſſue from us to *New England* and *Ireland*, what we ſend to, or receive from them, doth not employ one Man in *England*.

To

To conclude this Chapter, and to do Right to that moſt induſtrious *Engliſh* Colony, I muſt confeſs that though we looſe by their unlimited Trade with our foreign Plantations, yet we are very great Gainers, by their direct Trade to and from *Old England.* Our yearly Exportations of *Engliſh* Manufactures, Malt, and other Goods from hence thither, amounting in my Opinion to ten Times the Value of what is imported from thence, which Calculation I do not make at Random, but upon mature Conſideration, and, peradventure, upon as much Experience in this Trade, as any other perſon will pretend to; and, therefore, when ever a Reformation of our Correſpondency in Trade with that People ſhall be thought on, it will in my poor Judgement require great Tenderneſs and very ſerious Circumſpection.

DISSERTATION II.

ON

Colonies and Plantations.

By

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

INSPECTOR of the Exports and Imports.

SELECT DISSERTATIONS ON Colonies and Plantations.

DISSERTATION II.

On the Plantation Trade.

By CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

HE that Writes in order to recommend any Matter to the Public Care, muſt begin with removing the Objections to the Thing itſelf; for it will be unneceſſary to propoſe Methods whereby the Plantations in *America* may be ſecured and improved, unleſs it can be firſt made appear that they are beneficial to the Kingdom.

All Trades have their Rivals and Concurrents in Profit, who conſequently are Enemies; they have likewiſe their Friends and Supporters; but the Diligence of one Enemy is more prevailing and active, than the Kindneſs of many Friends: There is alſo a Third Party, who, having not well conſidered and ſtudied the Concerns of Foreign Traffic, are Neuters, being indeed not quite certain in their own Opinion, whether it be good for *England* or not, and ſo become indifferent in any Deliberations relating to it.

And the Deſign of theſe Papers being to incite the Young Gentlemen to bend their Thoughts to Matters of this Nature, in the Branches of Trade, which ſhall be here treated of, we ſhall endeavour to remove former Prejudices; they who are Adverſaries to any particular

ticular Traffic, for Reaſons reſpecting themſelves, will not be altered; but we ſhall do our beſt to confirm the Friends to Trade in general; we ſhall try to bring over the Neuter Side; and to engage thoſe who are the Flying Squadron in all ſuch Debates, by ſhewing them that their Land-intereſt depends more on Foreign Commerce than is commonly imagined.

The moſt material Objections to our Colonies in *America* are,

1ſt, That they drain this Kingdom of People, the moſt important Strength of any Nation.

2dly, That they are a Retreat to Men of Notions oppoſite to the Religion of their Country, and to Perſons diſaffected to the Government.

As to the Firſt Head, it is evident that ſince we had theſe Plantations, *England* has rather encreaſed than diminiſhed in People.

In the Firſt Diſcourſe we have ſufficiently made it appear, that ſince the Year 1600, the Wealth of this Kingdom is all Manner of Ways augmented; that our general Rental is more; that the Purchaſe of Land is come from 12 to 18, and in ſome Countries 24, 25, and 26; and that our Stock of all Kinds is greatly multiplied, as alſo the Species of Money. Now this Acceſſion of Riches can have noways proceeded but from our Encreaſing in the Number of Inhabitants,

For the Collective Body of a Nation has but Two Courſes of acquiring Wealth, either by Inroads and Depredations upon its Neighbours, or by the Trade, Labour, Arts and Manufactures of its People; and when it is not grown Rich one Way, we may preſume that the Hands are encreaſed which have multiplied its Riches.

There are almoſt undeniable Reaſons to be drawn from Political Arithmetic, ſhewing that ſince the Year 1600, we are encreaſed in Number of Inhabitants about 900,000, which could not be, if the Plantations were ſuch a Drain of the People as is injurious to the Commonwealth.

We admit (over and above the Acceſſion of Foreigners to us, and not reckoning what the *Weſt-Indies* ſend to us again) that for 80 Years laſt paſt, they may have carried away, *communibus Annis*, about 1000 Perſons, and that is the moſt; but then it is generally of ſuch

Sort

Sort of People, as their Crimes and Debaucheries would quickly deſtroy at Home, or whom their Wants would confine in Priſons or force to beg, and ſo render them uſeleſs, and conſequently a Burthen to the Public.

If the Majority of thoſe who are thus tranſported, or tranſport themſelves, conſiſts of ſuch as would periſh here or beg, it muſt certainly be adviſeable to tranſplant them to Places, where they may be of more Uſe, or grow better by Removal.

Virginia and *Barbadoes* were at firſt peopled by ſuch a Race; it is true (as Sir *Joſiah Child* has obſerved) that afterwards they came to have another Sort of Inhabitants, when the Miſeries of the Civil War had reduced many good Families of the King's Party to change Climate.

And again, thoſe two Plantations, *Jamaica* and other Parts of *America*, had a new Acceſſion of People, when the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. had brought many Perſons diſcontented either in Religious or State Matters, to ſeek Refuge in a diſtant Country.

New-England had its original Riſe and Planting from the Perſecutions on account of Conſcience, ſet afoot by the warm Churchmen in the Reigns of King *James* and King *Charles* I.

So that, in a Manner, ſeveral Nations which in Time may grow conſiderable, have been formed out of what was here thought an Excreſcence in the Body Politic.

And it may not be unſeaſonable in this Place, to offer to Public Conſideration, whether it would not be more religious to tranſport many of thoſe miſerable Wretches, who are frequently executed in this Kingdom for ſmall Tranſgreſſions of the Law? it being peradventure one of the Faults of our Conſtitution, that it makes ſo little Difference between Crimes; for Experience tells us, that many Malefactors have, by after Induſtry and a Reformation in Manners, juſtified their Wiſdom, whoſe Clemency ſent them Abroad.

It muſt undoubtedly be for the common Good to preſerve thoſe Abroad, whom their Vice or Neceſſities would deſtroy at Home; but it may be a Queſtion, whether or no it is conſiſtent with the Welfare of a Country, to allow to the Malcontents in Religious or State Affairs, a Retreat, and ſuch a one, in which they may acquire both Power and Riches. The Examination

of

of this Point will lead us to anſwer the Objections made upon the ſecond Hand.

From the very beginning of the Reformation, there have been Differences in this Kingdom, not truly in the Eſſential, but Ceremonial Parts of Religion; but the Enemy of Man (working on our Ambition, Pride, Avarice, Thirſt of Rule, and other our Natural Defects) has ſo improved thoſe Quarrels, as to make us contend, from Time to Time, about Matters indifferent, as hotly as if the entire Glory and Power of God had been in Queſtion.

And to ſtate Things fairly, almoſt every Religious Faction that has chanced to get the Sway, has thrown off the Meekneſs that was firſt pretended, each ſhewing in its Turn a perſecuting Spirit, which Spirit is not of God.

Such therefore as found themſelves diſturbed and uneaſy at Home, if they could have found no other Retreat, muſt have gone to the *Hans Towns*, *Switzerland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, or *Holland*, (as many did before the Plantations flouriſhed, to our great detriment) and they who had thus retired to the European Countries, muſt have been for ever loſt to England.

But Providence, which contrives better for us than we can do for ourſelves, has offered in the New World a Place of Refuge for theſe, peradventure, miſtaken and miſled People, where (as ſhall be ſhewn by and by) their Labour and Induſtry is more uſeful to their Mother Kingdom, than if they had continued among us.

And as to Malcontents in the State, perhaps it is for the Public Safety, that there ſhould always be ſuch an Outlet or Iſſue for the Ill-humours which from Time to Time are engendered in the Body Politic. And the *Romans*, by ſuch Kind of Colonies, did continually diſcharge their City of thoſe turbulent Spirits who diſturbed their Country's Peace; and the Senate thereby appeaſed the Tumults which did ſo frequently ariſe about the Agrarian Law.

Deſire of having more, and not the Fear of loſing what they poſſeſs, lies at the Bottom of moſt diſaffections to Government; it is therefore ſafeſt to let ſuch unquiet Minds remove to Places where their Appetite after Riches may be better ſatisfied.

Hardly

Hardly any Government can be ſo evenly managed, as to content all Sorts of Men; and the Miniſters are often a Weight to ſome who reverence and love the Prince's Perſon, and to ſuch a Retreat is convenient, in which they may ſhun the private Animoſities and Oppreſſion of Perſons, perhaps too powerful to be complained of.

One of the worſt Circumſtances in univerſal Monarchy, is, that the Tyranny it introduces is no where to be avoided; ſo that he who was oppreſſed by a *Roman* Emperor, could retire no where but into the Arms of Death, and this made ſo many great Men kill themſelves; whereas now, ſuch as cannot be eaſy in one Country, may remove and be at Quiet in another.

In all likelihood, it would be very much for the Good of Human Kind, and add extremely to the Wealth and Greatneſs of *England*, by new Encouragements, wholeſome Laws, and a more eaſy Naturalization, to make this Kingdom the Aſylum for all oppreſſed and afflicted Perſons, who deſire to ſhun that deſpotic Power, which the neighbouring Princes are every where ſetting up; and if we are made the general Aſylum, our own Malcontents may retire without any Prejudice; for the Recruits of People ſuch a Courſe might produce, would anſwer the annual Evacuation occaſioned by our *Weſt-India* Colonies.

Their Plantations have, indeed, ruined the *Spaniards*; but it is becauſe there are many Things amiſs in their preſent Conduct. Their Monaſteries hinder Marriage, the Inquiſition frights away Strangers, and, in general, there is no Proviſion at all made to repair what their Colonies carry out. But the *Hollanders*, who ſend out greater Numbers every Year than *Spain*, are not diſpeopled by it, their Conſtitution inviting more over to them than they ſend Abroad.

Upon which Account we cannot but wonder at their Policy who were the firſt Promoters of that Law in 1695, which puts a Difficulty upon, and reſtrains the Sale of any Plantation or Parcel of Land in *America* to Foreigners; whereas, indeed, we ſhould invite and encourage Aliens to plant in the *Weſt-Indies*, whereby the Crown gains Subjects, and the Nation gets Wealth by the Labour of others. This Statute does, peradventure, want reviſing.

And Countries that take no Care to encourage an Acceſſion of Strangers, in a Courſe of Time, will find Plantations of pernicious Conſequence. It may be computed, that there have gone from *England* to the *Weſt-Indies*, for many Years, by a Medium, about 1800 Perſons annually; but then there is Reaſon to think, that, for ſome Time, the Perſecutions Abroad have brought over to us, by a Medium, about 500 Foreigners every Year; and there are Grounds to believe, that, for theſe laſt 20 Years, the *Weſt-Indies* have ſent us back, annually, about 300 Perſons of their Offspring, with this Advantage, that the Fathers went out poor, and the Children came home rich.

But if ſuch Meaſures ſhould hereafter be taken as will hinder the Acceſſion of Strangers, or diſcourage the Planters from returning back, then theſe Colonies would drain us every Year of 1800 Perſons.

However, this can be no Damage to the State, if they conſiſt of Men turbulent and unquiet at Home, unleſs it can be made out, that they acquire Abroad ſuch Riches, Power, and Dominion, as may render them, in Proceſs of Time, formidable to their Mother Country.

As the Caſe now ſtands, we ſhall ſhew that they are a Spring of Wealth to this Nation, that they work for us, that their Treaſure centers all here, and that the Laws have tied them faſt enough to us; ſo that it muſt be through our own Fault and Miſgovernment, if they become independent of *England*.

It is true, if a Breach of the Navigation Act be connived at, even our own Plantations may become more profitable to our Neighbours than to us. Corrupt Governors, by oppreſſing the Inhabitants, may hereafter provoke them to withdraw their Obedience, and by ſupine Negligence, or upon miſtaken Meaſures, we may let let them grow (more eſpecially *New England*) in naval Strength and Power, which, if ſuffered, we cannot expect to hold them long in our Subjection. If, as ſome have propoſed, we ſhould think to build Ships of War there, we may teach them an Art which will coſt us ſome Blows to make them forget. Some ſuch Courſes may indeed drive them, or put it into their Heads to erect themſelves into independent Commonwealths.

But while we keep a ſtrict Eye upon their Conduct, and chiefly watch their Growth in Shipping of Strength

and

and for War, whatever other Increaſe they make, either in Wealth, or in Number of Inhabitants, cannot be turned againſt us, and can never be detrimental to this Nation.

While we are ſtrong, and they weak at Sea, they may be compelled to obey the Laws of *England*, and not to trade directly, and upon their own Account, with other Countries, and they may be eaſily brought under, if evil-minded Perſons ſhould think at any Time to ſeduce them from their Allegiance.

Of all the *American* Plantations, *New England* (as Sir *Joſiah Child* has obſerved) is the moſt proper for building Ships, and breeding Seamen, and their Soil affords plenty of Cattle; beſides which, they have good Fiſheries, ſo that if we ſhould go to cultivate among them the Art of Navigation, and teach them to have a naval Force, they may ſet up for themſelves, and make the greateſt Part of our *Weſt-India* Trade precarious. With their native Product they can furniſh *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and other Parts, with moſt Sort of Proviſion, by which they may draw from thence Sugar, Tobacco, and Cotton; and if they have a Strength of Ships, to countenance the Breach of their original Charter, by which they are tied to obſerve the Laws of *England*, they may carry the Growth of our Plantations to foreign Countries, and in Exchange bring from thence ſuch Commodities and Manufactures as they want, to the great Hurt of the King's Cuſtoms, and to the Damage of the general Trade of *England*.

From all which it appears, how much they may be miſtaken in their Politics, who, becauſe we loſe by the *Baltic* Trade, propoſe to the Government to build Ships of War in this Colony of *America*, not computing and weighing how prejudicial ſuch a Project may be upon other Accounts; for, beſides many other Evils encouraging them to do ſo, it would carry from hence a great Number of Artificers, which, in Caſe of a War, would be wanting in *England*.

Colonies are a Strength to their Mother Kingdom, while they are under good Diſcipline, while they are ſtrictly made to obſerve the fundamental Laws of their original Country, and while they are kept dependent on it. But otherwiſe, they are worſe than Members lopped from the Body politic, being indeed like offenſive Arms

wreſted from a Nation to be turned againſt it as Occaſion ſhall ſerve.

Not that we think the Greatneſs theſe Colonies may arrive in a natural Courſe, and in the Progreſs of Time, can be dangerous to *England*. To build Ships in the Way of Trade, or for their own Defence, can adminſter no true Cauſe of Jealouſy. There is much Difference between letting them be in a Condition to defend themſelves, and rendering them a kind of Staple for naval Stores, which can be hardly Politic, and perhaps very bad Huſbandry; but to prove this laſt Aſſertion, would launch us out into an Argument too tedious for this Diſcourſe.

Wiſe Countries never teach their Colonies the Art of War; if they need it not to oppoſe their Neighbours, it is better they ſhould be without it; and if it be neceſſary to them, they will learn it of themſelves. When Colonies are near, it is beſt they ſhould be protected by the Force and Arms of their Mother Country; but when they are very remote, they may be allowed Arms and Shipping for their own Protection.

And, generally ſpeaking, our Colonies while they have *Engliſh* Blood in their Veins, and have Relations in *England*, and while they can get by trading with us, the ſtronger and greater they grow, the more this Crown and Kingdom will get by them; and nothing but ſuch an arbitrary Power as ſhall make them deſperate, can bring them to rebel.

Having examined what is objected to Plantations in general, we ſhall proceed to ſhow the Advantages and Gain they brought to *England* when they were in a proſperous Condition.

In the Eſſay on the *Eaſt-India* Trade * we did compute, that in the yearly Increaſe of the Nation's general Stock, amounting to two Millions, in the whole 900,000 *l.* was to be allowed for the annual Profits made by our *Weſt-India* Traffic, and there ſhall be by and by ſhown the Grounds we went upon in that Computation, and tho' there may be ſome Miſtake in the Repartition we then made, yet, whoever conſiders the Matter carefully, will find we were right in the main Account.

But here Mr. *Pollexfen* will object, that there is no national Gain but where there is a Return made in Gold

* D'Avenant's Works, Vol. I. p. 94.

or

or Silver, which he thinks is the only Balance whereby we can gueſs at Loſs and Profit. He inſinuates, that no Importation of Commodities for Home Conſumption is to be eſteemed a Gain, ſo that, by his Way of arguing, the Returns for what is exported to foreign Parts, is only to be called Profit, and that not unleſs it come in Bullion.

Whoever follows him in this Notion, will never judge rightly in any Matter concerning Trade, and though no Merchant, from the Light of common Senſe merely, we think ourſelves able to make it appear he is miſtaken.

We ſhall endeavour to ſhow, that, generally ſpeaking, by whatever the Returns are more worth than the Commodity exported, the Nation is by ſo much a Gainer, let the Goods imported be periſhable or not.

But to underſtand this Point clearly, we muſt look a little backwards into the Manners and Nature of our own People.

About forty Years after we had taſted the Benefits of foreign Traffic, we began to be infected with foreign Luxury: In the Beginning a Stop might have been put to the Progreſs of the Evil, but there are Grounds to apprehend it has now taken Root too deeply, and is grown above the Correction of Wiſdom and the Laws.

Beſides, for theſe thirty-ſeven Years laſt paſt, the Duties on imported Goods have been ſuch a main Branch of the Crown-Revenue, that, upon this Score, perhaps, our Vanities were not ſo diſcountenanced as the Public Welfare might require.

But the People are not ſo accuſtomed to the Uſe of foreign Materials, that they can hardly ſubſiſt without them. However, this Exceſs becomes leſs dangerous, when we can purchaſe them with the Product of diſtant Countries under our Dominion, or with whom we deal, than if we were to buy them with Money, or with Things merely of our own Growth.

For there is a limited Stock of our own Product to carry out, beyond which there is no paſſing: As for Example, there is ſuch a Quantity of Woollen Manufacture, Lead, Tin, *&c.* which, over and above our own Conſumption, we can export abroad, and our Soil, as it is now peopled, will not yield much more; and there is likewiſe a limited Quantity of theſe Goods, which fo-

reign Consumption will not exceed: Now, if our Expence of foreign Materials be above this, and more than our own Product will fetch, for the Overplus we should be forced to go to Market with Money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourselves other Ways, which are either by exchanging our Plantation Goods for their Materials, or by bartering one foreign Vanity for another; and this we are enabled to do with the Assistance of our *East-India* Traffic. It is true, Industry and Frugality may encrease our Exports, and so more of them will be consumed by Foreigners.

The *West* and *East India* Trades have so enlarged our Stock, as to set the general Balance for many Years on our Side, notwithstanding all our Luxuries, which our Home Product could not so have answered, as to let the Nation gather at the same Time such a Mass of Wealth as the War has expended.

It is allowed that our Home Product, with the Profit we made by the *Newfoundland* Fishery, might fetch from the *European* Markets, Wine, Oil, Fruits, wrought Silks, raw Silk, Linen, *&c.* and besides, bring a Superlucration to this Kingdom of about 500,000 *l. per Annum.* But having considered more maturely this Point than we could do when the Essay on the *East-India* Trade was written, we are therefore to think that the Profit arising from our *European* Trade was about 600,000 *l. per Annum*, added to the national Stock, which, in thirty Years, is 18 Millions.

But 18 Millions could by no Means be a sufficient Sum to answer the extraordinary Expences, Losses, and Accidents, by Plague, Fire, and War, which did happen before the Year 1688, and may be justly computed at 30 Millions; and our Consumption all the while considered, we must have been impoverished to the last Degree, but for the formentioned Helps.

The *West* and *East-India* Commodities coming from distant Parts, we make *Europe* pay us good Freight, which is clear Gain, and by their Means we beat down the Price of several Wares, as wrought Silks, raw Silk, Linen, Sugar, *&c.* and by Goods and Drugs brought from thence, we dye and manufacture several of our own Commodities at a cheaper Rate; all which makes Trade in general more beneficial to us.

In

In handling Matters of this Nature, ſomething ſhould be laid down to form an Idea upon; whether it is quite Right or no the Reader may judge, but if it comes near the Fact, it will hold in Proportion.

We have ſaid in the Eſſay on the *Eaſt-India* Trade, * that about *Anno* 1788, the Increaſe or Addition to the general Stock of *England* ariſing from foreign Tade and home Manufactures, was at leaſt 2 Millions yearly, and we made our Repartition thus:

	l.
From our Manufactures and home Product ſent to the Plantations, and from the Returns thereof, exported to foreign Parts, — — — —	900,000
From our Woollen Manufacture, Lead, Tin, Leather, and our other native Product ſent to *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, &c. — — —	500,000
From the neat Profit accruing by the *Eaſt-India* Trade, — — —	600,000
Total, £.	2,000,000

Whoever examines the Cuſtom-houſe Books for ſix Years, and rightly computes the Drawbacks and Exports, will find the firſt Article not much miſtaken; and we hope to prove the Computation relating to the *Eaſt-India* Trade, in the next Diſcourſe; but having granted that the Returns for theſe Goods are partly made to us in periſhable Commodities, we are to ſhow, that, notwithſtanding this, theſe Traffics did add to our national Stock a very large Sum.

To explain this, we muſt lay down, that according to the beſt Enquiry we can poſſibly make, the Imports and Exports together in Times of Peace did make the Bulk of this Nation's Trade amount to about 10,000,000 *l. per Annum.*

To gain yearly 2 Millions, there muſt be 20 *per Cent.* Profit by Trade in general, whereas the Merchants think themſelves happy, with a clear and conſtant Gain of 12 *per Cent.* But then we are to conſider, that as in ſome Caſes the Nation may loſe where the Merchant gets, ſo in the whole, the Nation may well get 20, where the Merchant gets but 12 *per Cent.* and this Diſtinction will lead us to comprehend the whole Matter.

* D'Avenant's, Works Vol. I. p. 94.

As for Example: A Parcel of Goods ſent from hence to *Virginia* may fetch 10 Hogſheads of Tobacco, in which the Merchant may gain at the Rate only of 10 *per Cent.* but when this Tobacco is ſhipped again for *Amſterdam*, in the Freight backward and forward, and outward again, and in the Manufactory of the Goods ſent, when the laſt Return comes to be made, all Parties concerned will be found to have got among them 20 *per Cent.* and much more, reckoning from the Prime Value of the Commodity exported.

And the Caſe of *England* ſeems to ſtand thus: We have Variety of Traffics, in ſome we doubled, in ſome trebled, and in ſome quadrupled the firſt Coſt; we had likewiſe Dealings by which we gained 5, 8, 10, and 15 *per Cent.* and by ſome Trades we loſt; but throwing all together by a general Medium, if, for ſome Years paſt, we had not made 20 *per Cent.* Profit by the whole Bulk of Trade, and ſo laid up a great Stock, we muſt probably have ſunk under the Burthen of this laſt War.

Nor could we have ſubſiſted if this Gain had not been over and above the periſhable Commodities; that is to ſay, our own Product, joined with our Buſineſs, did not only ſupply our preſent Luxuries, but enabled us to lay up ſuch a Stock; however, merely with the Help of our own Product we ſhould have encreaſed, but not in the ſame Proportion; and the Wealth thereby acquired could not have maintained the War ſo long.

To come at the right Knowledge of what a People get by Trade, it muſt examined to what Value they can naturally export of their own Product, and to what Value they can carry to Market of the Product of other Parts; it muſt afterwards be computed what their own Conſumption is of foreign Materials, by balancing this together; if there be an Overplus, that Overplus a Nation may be ſaid to get by Traffic.

Nor is ſuch a Balance needful, as Merchants make up every Year, to know whether a Country gets or loſes by Trade, for as we have ſaid in the firſt of theſe Diſcourſes, it will appear by many Circumſtances.

The Arguments in the firſt Diſcourſe have perhaps ſufficiently proved, that the Nation's general Stock towards the Year 1688, did begin to encreaſe annually about two Millions.

We

We have an Account from ſuch as have formerly peruſed the Cuſtom-houſe Books with great Care, that from 1682 excluſive, to 1688 incluſive, the Value of our Exports to *America* in Proviſions of all Kinds, Apparel and Houſehold Furniture, might be, by a Medium of ſix Years, about 350,000 *l. per Annum.*

That the Value of our Imports from the Southward and Northward Parts of that Country, for the ſame Term of Time, in Tobacco, Sugars, Ginger, Cotton-Wool, Fuſtic-Wood, Indico, Cocoa, Fiſh, Pipe-ſtaves, Maſts, Furs, *&c.* and Fiſh from *Newfoundland*, which is in the Nature of a Plantation, might be about 950,000 *l. per Annum.*

	l.
Returns, — — — — —	950,000
Prime Coſt, —— —— — —	350,000
Gained,	600,000

We take it, that the Imports from the Plantations might be about 950,000 *l.* in Times of Peace, whereof 350,000 *l.* being conſumed at Home, is about equal to our Exports thither, and the Remainder, *viz.* 600,000 *l.* being re-exported, is the national Gain by that Trade.

To prove this Comptutation yet farther, the Writer of theſe Papers has ſeen a Repreſentation to King *Charles* II. from the Merchants intereſted in the *American* Colonies, ſetting forth, that by a juſt Medium, the Labour of 100 Negroes is 1600 *l. per Annum*, Profit to this Kingdom; and we have Reaſons to conclude, that there are in *America* 100,000 Negroes, and if ſo, the *American* Colonies produce to *England* 1,600,000 *l. per Ann.* but in all our Calculations we chuſe rather to keep within a moderate Compaſs.

We agree ſo far with Mr. *Pollexfen*, that when we ſpeak of Trade in general, the Gain is ſo much only as the Nation does not conſume of the Imports; but either lays up in Commodities, in ſpecie, or converts into Money, or ſome ſuch adequate Treaſure.

And the 600,000 *l.* ſo re-exported to the *European* Markets, producing, in all Probability, 720,000 *l.* leaves again 120,000 *l.* to the Trade of *Europe.*

And upon a better View of the *Eaſt-India* Trade than we were able to make, when the Eſſay was written, we

find that the Exports to *India* in Bullion and Wares, might be about 500,000 *l. per Annum*, of which the Return might be about 1,800,000 *l.* whereof might be conſumed at Home to the Value of 1,300,000 *l.* when it comes into the 2d, 3d, and 5th Hand, as ſhall be explained hereafter, and re-exported to *Europe*, at leaſt 500,000 *l.* which 500,000 *l.* may be ſtated as the clear Gain by that Trade: and the ſaid 500,000 *l.* exported to *Europe*, producing 680,000 *l.* leaves a Gain of 180,000 *l.* to the Trade of *Europe*.

So that to make up the two Millions national Profit by Trade,

	£.
The Plantation Trade may bring in — —	600,000
The *Eaſt-India* Trade may bring in ——	500,000
The *European*, *African*, and *Levant* Trade, by our own Product, may bring in —— —— ——	600,000
Ditto, by Re-exports of Plantation Goods, —— — — — —	120,000
Ditto, by Re-exports of *Eaſt-India* Goods, — — — — — —	180,000
In all,	2,000,000

And according to the beſt Enquiry we are able to make, and from a general View of the Numbers of the People, the Stock of all Kinds that was in this Nation, and the Conſumption both of our own Product and of foreign Materials, we have many Reaſons to believe that this was the genuine State and true Poſture of Trade in 1688.

And as we have laid down in the firſt Diſcourſe, we take it that theſe two Millions did every Year turn into national Stock of different Kinds, which was viſible in the Increaſe of the Species of Money, of Shipping, in the Improvements of Land, in our magnificent Buildings, in our Quantity of Plate, Jewels, ſumptuous Apparel, and rich Furniture, and in the vaſt Stores that were lying by us, both of our home Product and foreign Commodities, which were our principal Strength and Support while the War laſted.

Beſides the 2 Millions Encreaſe by Trade, if it imported our preſent Matter, we could ſhow that there was a great

great Increaſe every Year by the Inland Buſineſs of the Nation; and theſe Additions to the Kingdom's Stock has enabled us to manage a Nine Years War, and to ſet out ſuch Fleets and Armies as were never heard of among our Anceſtors.

But we are very far from dogmatiſing upon this Subject, for as we have ſaid; * "Whoever will categorically "pronounce in Points ſo difficult, muſt look into a great "many Things."

The Writer never pretended any more than to ſhow probable Conjectures for other Perſons to reaſon upon. His firſt Account of our general Trade, publiſhed in the Eſſay on the Eaſt India Trade, Vol. I. p. 94. may have ſome Error in the Repartition of it; and the Scheme now offered may be liable to Exception, but it is framed from the beſt Enquiry he is able to make, and hereafter he will be very willing to correct any Miſtake or ill-grounded Notion, upon better Lights and farther Information.

The Novelty of theſe Calculations will make them at firſt be much diſputed by many Perſons; but if we had Leiſure to ſhew the Medium we go by in every Particular, (which would require much a larger Volume than is here intended) moſt People would agree we come very near the Truth, and that it is as much as can be expected in ſo dark and intricate a Subject, and in an Art ſo little cultivated, as that of Reaſoning upon Things by Figures.

If the Profit from the Plantations be ſuch as are here taken Notice of, or ſomething near it, we have not any Reaſon to complain of wanting theſe Inhabitants, becauſe the Superlucration from the Labour of the ſame Number of Men, over and above their own Nouriſhment, could no Manner of Ways have been ſo beneficial to the Kingdom.

For admit the American Colonies to contain not quite 200,000 Perſons of *Engliſh* Parentage, which perhaps is pretty near the Truth, the Labour of ſuch a Number of Men reckoned in the Maſs, could by no Means bring to the Nation 720,000*l. per Ann.* clear Profit.

But in the Southward Parts, cultivating a plentiful Soil productive of Commodities not to be had elſewhere, and every Head in the Iſlands employing peradventure, Six others of Negroe Slaves and European Strangers,

* D'Avenant's Works, Vol. I. p. 388.

they

they bring it to paſs, that One Head there is as profitable as Seven Heads would be in *England*.

For though the Labour in ſome whole Manufactures may bring a Superlucration to the Public of above 1 *l.* yearly *per* Head, yet the Maſs of Mankind reckoned together, it is ſufficient Profit, and will very much enrich a Country, if One Head with another brings to the Public 6*s.* and 8*d.* *per Ann.* or 7*s.* Gain, over and above his Nouriſhment; whereas thoſe Planters, as the foregoing Account ſhews, bring much a larger Profit to this Nation.

But here it may be objected, that the Northward Parts have drained us moſt of People, and yet yield Commodities of little Value; the Fact is ſo, but, if it were otherwiſe, the Plantation Trade could not perhaps be carried on.

For thoſe Soils which produce the Richer Goods, are not proper to cultivate for the Nouriſhment of Life, and to yield Corn, Beef, Pork, Peaſe, Flour, &c. ſo that the Southern Parts, eſpecially in a Time of War, would be deſtitute of Neceſſaries, were it not for the Induſtry of the more Northern Climates.

It is true, theſe Proviſions might be furniſhed from *England*, but at ſuch a Rate as would peradventure much diſcourage the Southern Planters. And the Northern Planters, *viz.* the People of *New-England*, *Maryland*, *Penſylvania*, *Carolina*, &c. though they furniſh the Product of the Earth to the Southern Colonies, yet they fetch from this Kingdom Variety of Manufactures, all Sorts of Clothes and Houſehold Furniture, much oftener renewed and thrice as Good, as the ſame Number of People could afford to have at Home; ſo that the Queſtion whether the Northern Colonies are good for *England* or no, will depend upon making a right Balance between the Commodities we ſend thither, and the Proviſions we might ſend to the Southward Plantations, if they were not ſupplied from *New-England*, &c. but we are inclined to think the preſent Courſe moſt advantageous to this Kingdom; and for this Reaſon the Proviſions we might ſend to *Barbadoes*, *Jamaica*, &c. would be the unimproved Product of the Earth, as Grain of all Kind, or ſuch Product where there is little got by the Improvement, as Malt, Salt Beef, and Pork. Indeed the Exportation of Salt Fiſh thither would be more advantageous;

geous; but the Goods which we ſend to the Northern Colonies are ſuch whoſe Improvements may be juſtly ſaid, one with another, to be near Four-fifths of the Value of the whole Commodity, as Apparel, Houſehold Furniture, and many other Things.

It is true, if in *New-England*, or in other Parts there, they ſhould pretend to ſet up Manufactures, and to clothe, as well as feed their Neighbours, their Nearneſs and low Price would give ſuch Advantages over this Nation, as might prove of pernicious Conſequence; but this Fear ſeems very remote, becauſe New Inhabitants, eſpecially in a large Extent of Country, find their Account better in rearing Cattle, Tilling the Earth, clearing it of Woods, making Fences, and by erecting neceſſary Buildings, than in ſetting up Manufactures, which is the laſt Work of a People ſettled 300 or 400 Years, growing numerous, and wanting Territory.

And as the Caſe ſtands, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that the Northern Colonies are a Help to the Southward Planters, as their Frugality and Temperance of Living is a Counterpoiſe to the Exceſs and Luxury with which a Rich Soil, eaſy Acquiſition of Wealth, and a warm Climate, has infected the Southern Inhabitants.

Though every *Engliſh* Head in the Southward Plantations, when they flouriſhed, did employ about Six others, yet, reckoning the whole Colonies together, our People could not be but about double the Number of the Negroes and European Strangers; ſo that our Dominions there might contain about 300,000 Perſons.

And it is Matter of great admiration, how in the Space of ſo few Years, ſuch a Number of Men ſhould be got together in a Country for the moſt Part ſo wild and uncultivated.

There are very near One-ſixth as many People there, as in all likelihood *England* did contain at the Time of the *Norman* Conqueſt.

And ſuch a large Encreaſe, with ſo ſwift a Progreſs, is no where to be met with but among the *Iſraelites* and the *Turks*; in the *Turkiſh* Dominions, where *Ertrogul*, a Prince of the *Oguzian* Tribe, planting himſelf with 400 Families at the Village *Saguta*, by the Mountain *Tmolus*, about the Year 1235, laid the Foundation of the *Ottoman* Empire, which in 215 Years after, came to

ſubdue

ſubdue a great Part of *Aſia*, and to get a conſiderable Footing in *Europe*.

It is true, they more enlarged their Dominions by Conqueſt than by any Arts of Peace; however, thoſe Numbers which their Wars continually waſted, could never have been ſupplied, if they had not been a ſober and temporate People, whereby they became long-lived, and fitter for Propagation.

And to the Sobriety and temperate Way of Living, practiſed by the Diſſenters retired to *America*, we may juſtly attribute the Encreaſe they have made there of Inhabitants, which is beyond the uſual Proportion to be any where elſe obſerved.

The Supplies from hence do by no Means anſwer their preſent Numbers; it muſt then follow that their Thrift, and regular Manner of Living, inclines them more to marry, and makes them more healthful for Generation, and affords them better Means of having the Neceſſaries to ſuſtain Life, as wholeſome Food, and Cleanly Dwelling, and Apparel, the want of which, in other Countries, is a high Article in the Burials of the Common People.

We do not pretend here to excuſe the heterodox Opinions theſe Diſſenters from our Church may have conceived about Religious Matters, nor to juſtify their Schiſm; but it muſt be owned that the Sobriety, which at leaſt they profeſs outwardly, is beneficial both in Practice and Example.

For where Riot and Luxeries are not diſcountenanced, the Inferior Rank of Men become preſently infected, and grow Lazy, effeminate, impatient of Labour, and expenſive, and conſequently cannot thrive by Trade and Tillage; ſo that when we contemplate the great Increaſe and Improvements which have been made in *New-England*, *Carolina* and *Penſylvania*, we cannot but think it Injuſtice not to ſay, that a large Share of this general Good to thoſe Parts is owing to the Education of their Planters, which, if not entirely virtuous, has a Show of Virtue; and if this were only an Appearance, it is yet better for a People that are to ſubſiſt in a new Country by Traffic and Induſtry, than the open Profeſſion and Practice of Lewdneſs, which is always attended with National Decay and Poverty.

By what has been ſaid in this Diſcourſe, we hope it is ſufficiently proved that the Plantations are advantageous

to

to *England*, and that the Southward and Northward Colonies, having ſuch a mutual Dependence upon each other, all Circumſtances conſidered, are almoſt equally important.

And to make theſe diſtant Colonies a laſting Benefit to this Nation, muſt take its Riſe from the Wiſdom which ſhall be ſhown from Time to Time in their general Conduct and Government.

The principle Care will always be to keep them dependent upon their Mother Country, and not to ſuffer thoſe Laws, upon any Account, to be looſened, whereby they are tied to it; for otherwiſe they will become more Profitable to our Neighbours than to us.

The late ill Order in our Affairs, which perhaps was unavoidable in ſo big a War, does ſufficiently evince what a mutual Dependence the Southern and Northern Colonies have one upon another; for ſo little Care was taken for the Convoys that were to protect the Supplies of Proviſions for our Iſlands, that though all Neceſſaries might have been as well (though not quite ſo cheap) ſent from *Ireland*, as from the Northern Plantations, yet it is apparent that many Times the Southern Parts muſt have periſhed for Want, if they had not been ſupplied by the Northern Colonies.

But however uſeful they may have been to his Majeſty's Iſlands during the late War, yet perhaps it will concern the Public to look a little into the Poſture of Affairs upon the Continent.

And there are ſome general Points, which peradventure may deſerve Conſideration, when it ſhall be thought convenient to put our Buſineſs in *America* under ſuch a Form and Settlement as may be ſafe and laſting; and they are as follows:

1ſt, Without doubt the Negligence of former Times has ſuffered a greater Number of Plantations upon the Continent, than do well conſiſt with the Navigation and other intereſts of their Mother Country.

2dly, It cannot be for the Public Good of a Kingdom to furniſh Colonies out of it with People, when the Product of ſuch Colonies is the ſame with the Kingdom's, and ſo rivals the Kingdom both in its Navigation and its Product, at the Markets where ſuch Product is vended.

3dly, It can hardly be the Intereſt of a Country to ſuffer its People to make Settlements of ſeveral Plantations,

tations, that yield One and the ſame Commodity. For Inhabitants thus diſperſed, are neither ſo uſeful to each other in Time of Peace, not ſtrong enough to defend themſelves in Times of War: So that their Mother Kingdom is uſually at a great Charge for their Defence; whereas, if they lay in a more compact and leſs extended Territory, they could be more ready to give each other mutual Help, and not be expoſed, as they are, to every little Strength and inſult of an Invader.

4thly, As many Empires have been ruined by too much enlarging their Dominions, and by graſping at too great an extent of Territory, ſo our Intereſt in America may decay, by aiming at more Provinces, and a greater Tract of Land than we can either cultivate or defend. Upon which Account, it may perhaps be ſome Time or other worth the Conſideration of the State, whether a Way might not be propoſed of collecting within a narrower Compaſs the ſcattered Inhabitants of the Continent, by inviting ſome to cultivate the Iſlands where their Labour is moſt profitable to this Kingdom, and by drawing the reſt, if poſſible, to Four or Five of the Provinces beſt ſituate and moſt productive of Commodities not to be had in *Europe*. But this is to be done with great Deliberation, with a due Regard to Property, by Degrees, and by good Encouragement.

5thly, Former Times have not only been faulty in ſuffering too many Provinces to be erected; but in the Repartition of the Land taken in, there are Corruptions connived at very prejudicial to the Plantation Trade, and the King's Cuſtoms from thence ariſing. As for Example, it is much wondered at, that *Virginia*, the firſt *Engliſh* Settlement upon the Continent, made about 80 Years ago, ſhould have thriven no better; ſome attribute it to the Badneſs of the Climate, but other Reaſons may be plainly aſſigned for its ill Succeſs, which perhaps are as follow:

The Planters and Inhabitants have been, and at this Time are diſcouraged from Planting Tobacco in that Colony, and Servants are not ſo willing to go thither as formerly, becauſe the Members of the Council, and others, who make Intereſt in the Government there, have, from Time to Time, procured Grants of very large Tracts of Land, ſo that there has not, for many Years,

Years, been any waſte Grounds left for to be cultivated by thoſe who bring with them Servants, or by ſuch Servants as have ſerved their Time faithfully with their Maſters, it being all taken up and engroſſed before-hand; whereby they are forced to pay a Yearly Rent for this Ground, or to go the utmoſt bounds of Colony for Land to improve, by which Means they are expoſed to Danger, and this often furniſhes Matter for War or Quarrels with the *Indians*.

The Manner of taking up Land in *Virginia* is thus: Every Adventurer or Planter has, upon his Arrival, a right to 50 Acres of Land in the Colony: If he intends to take up any, he is firſt to make Oath before the Governor or Council, or at a County Court, of the Number of Perſons he deſigns to import, and they of courſe grant him a Certificate thereupon, which is entered in the Secretary's Office, and is then produced by him to the Surveyor of the County where the Land lies waſte, who makes a Survey, allowing 50 Acres, according to the Number of his rights, i. e. Perſons Imported, which, with the rights, is carried to the Secretary's Office, on which a Patent is made out, and ſigned by the Governor in Council, who cauſes the Seal of the Colony to be affixed to it, which gives the Claimer an Eſtate in Fee-ſimple; but upon the following Conditions: 1ſt, To pay the King 1 *s. per Annum* Quit-rent for every 50 Acres. 2dly, To Seat ſuch Land within Three Years (otherwiſe it is preſumed to be deſerted). By Seating Land is meant that they build a Houſe, and put ſome Stock of Cattle upon it. 3dly, To keep Four able Men armed upon the new Plantation, if it lie far up in the Country.

Theſe are the Terms upon which the Land is granted, but they are ſeldom obſerved. The Quit-rent is rarely paid. Inſtead of Building and Stocking, they fell a few Trees, and throw up a little Hut covered with Bark, and put three or four Hogs into the Woods: No Servants are left to defend or Cultivate the Ground, but in this fallacious Way they are ſuffered to keep up their Claim, and to maintain Poſſeſſion.

And theſe Grants being procured upon ſuch eaſy Terms, and very often upon wrong Suggeſtions and falſe Certificates, it comes to paſs, that many hold 20 or 30,000 Acres of Land a-piece, and that largely ſurveyed;

ed; ſome Patents including double the Quantity of Land that was intended to be graated: And from hence it proceeds that many Hundred thouſand Acres are, as they call it, taken up, but not planted, which Practice drives away the Inhabitants and Servants bred up only to Planting, and forces them into Colonies where their Labour is not ſo profitable either to the Crown or to the People of this Kingdom, as it would be in a Province not producing Commodities that are of *Engliſh* Growth. And theſe practices are, without doubt, a chief Cauſe that our Colony in *Virginia* has had no better Succeſs.

We have dwelt the longer in repreſenting this Matter of Fact, concerning which we have certain Information, only to ſhow of what ill Conſequence it is to graſp at an extended but a barren Dominion. And this Conſideration, perhaps, will lead the Public ſome Time or other to make Proviſion:

1ſt, Hereafter to hinder any new Plantation, eſpecially on a Soil producing what may be had from the Soil of *England* or *Ireland*.

2dly, To endeavour the rendering this Territory leſs extenſive, but better peopled, and conſequently in a readier Condition to improve and defend itſelf.

3dly, To eſtabliſh ſomething like an Agrarian Law, by which we would not be underſtood to propoſe a levelling the Property and rightful Poſſeſſion of the Inhabitants, but only to reſtrain ſuch a fradulent taking up of Land (to uſe their own Term) as is a Bar to the Induſtry of others.

Our Intereſt in *America*, generally ſpeaking, may bring an immenſe Profit to this Kingdom, if it was well looked after by the Government here, but otherwiſe in all likliehood it will either decline or come to be a Strength that may be turned againſt us.

If ſuch a Sheme of a Council of Trade as we have propoſed in the Second Diſcourſe, be not thought adviſeable, it is ſubmitted to Public Conſideration, whether the Plantations are not of importance enough to deſerve a particular Council to be eſtabliſhed by the King, for the Inſpection of Affairs thereunto relating, in the following, or ſome ſuch like Method.

1ſt, That the Care of *America* be made the Province of a ſelect Number of Lords and Gentlemen of Reputation,

tation, both for Parts and Fortune, and in ſuch a Number as will admit of Two Committees, that ſo Buſineſs may be better diſpatched.

2dly, That they be authorized under the Great Seal of *England*, by the Name and Stile of Lords Commiſſioners for the *Engliſh* Plantations in *America*, to conſider and inſpect all Affairs relating to the Government, Trade, Revenues, Plantations, and further Improvement of thoſe Countries.

3dly, And no Buſineſs being well done in this Kingdom, where Attendance is not recompenſed with ſome Advantage, that every Commiſſioner have a Salary of 1000 *l. per Ann.*

4thly, That the reſpective Colonies be required to ſend a true State of their Caſe to theſe Lords; as for Example, of their Situation, Extent of Territory, Numbers of People, Produce, Revenue, Civil Policy, with Propoſals which Way to improve every Country, to their own and their Nation's Profit; and all to be regiſtered in the Plantation Office.

This, compared with what Enquiries the Lords may themſelves make, and Informations they may receive at Home, may give them ſuch an Idea and Knowledge of all Affairs in *America*, as it will not be difficult for them to put Things into a Form and Order of Government that ſhall always preſerve thoſe Countries in their Obedience to the Crown, and Dependence upon this Kingdom; and probably, if they are thus made the peculiar Care of ſome Body of Men, they will be a laſting Revenue to the King, an inexhauſtible Mine of Treaſure to *England* in general, and a great Means to multiply Seamen and encreaſe our Navigation.

Such a Conſtitution will be ſomething like what we call the Council of the *Indies* in *Spain*; but here it may be objected, that the *Spaniards* are not very good Patterns to follow in any Model or Scheme of Government; to which it may be anſwered, that whoever conſiders the Laws, and Politic Inſtitutions of *Spain*, will find them as well formed, and contrived with as much Skill and Wiſdom, as in any Country perhaps in the World: So that the Errors *that* People is obſerved to commit from Time to Time, do not proceed from a wrong and ill Projection, but from the negligent, looſe, and unſteady Executions of their Councils.

Xenophon, in that Tract which is publiſhed at the End of the Firſt Part of theſe Diſcourſes, ſays, "That Governments reſemble their Governors." This Maxim of his is certainly right; and from thence it follows, that the Welfare of the *American* Colonies will very much depend upon the Conduct and Behaviour of ſuch as are ſent to recide and govern there by the King's Authority.

In former Times, this Part of Policy has without Doubt been very much neglected, there having generally been put at the Head of theſe Affairs Abroad, indigent, ignorant, or extravagant Perſons, of which one Sort made a Prey, and the others, by their Examples, corrupted the Manners of the People.

A good General, by the very March and Demeanor of a Regiment, can make a near Gueſs at the Underſtanding and Abilities of the Colonel, if he be unſkilful and without Diſcipline, every private Centinel ſhall carry the Marks of it about him.

The ſame holds, and much more ſtrongly, in the Government of higher Matters: It muſt therefore be of great Importance to the State, that he who is to command a Country containing many thouſand Families, ſhould be a Man of Abilities, Experience, Dexterity, Courage, Temper, aud Virtue; he ought to be endowed with ſuch a general Knowledge as may comprehend the Nature of the Soil where he is, what Improvements it is capable of, and what Trades will be moſt advantageous to it. He ſhould be able likewiſe to look into the Genius of the People he is to govern: he ſhould be a Man of Diſcipline, Sobriety, and Juſtice, for he that is not ſo in his own Perſon, can never expect Order, nor compel others to obey the Laws. A People to whom Riches and Plenty furniſh Matter for Vice and Luxury, ſhould be governed by a ſtrict and ſkilful Hand, which may reform their Manners, and at the ſame Time both promote and direct their Induſtry.

In all Appearance, hardly any Thing would more conduce to the good Government of theſe Places, than to follow one Courſe, which the King of *France* ſtrictly obſerves in his Plantations, and it is to give very large Appointments to the Governors out of his own Coffers, not allowing them any Perquiſites, or to draw any Advantages or Profit from the Inhabitants.

And as care ſhould be taken to keep them obedient to the Laws of *England*, and dependent upon their Mother Country, ſo thoſe Conditions, Privileges, Terms, and Charters, ſhould be kept ſacred and inviolate, by which they were firſt encouraged at their great Expence, and with the Hazard of their Lives, to diſcover, cultivate, and plant remote Places, where in truth they labour as well for us as for themſelves, for here at laſt their Treaſure centers.

The Northern Colonies are not upon the ſame Foot as thoſe of the South; and having a worſe Soil to improve, they muſt find their Recompence ſome other Way, which only can be in Property, and Dominion: Upon which Score, any Innovations in the Form of Government there, ſhould be cautiouſly examined, for fear of entering upon Meaſures by which the Induſtry of the Inhabitants may be quite diſcouraged.

It is always unfortunate for a People, either by Conſent or upon Compulſion, to depart from their primitive Inſtitutions, and thoſe Fundamentals by which they were firſt united together: Liberty, choice of their own Chief Magiſtrates and Officers, was the Part conſtituent of principal Societies that have ſucceeded ſo well in the Northward Regions; to appoint them Governors from hence, will certainly be for the Good of the Courtiers here, but whether this Courſe in the Event will be advantageous for thoſe Plantations, is not ſo eaſy to determine.

But, without Doubt, it muſt be very prejudicial both to the Southward and Northern Colonies, that many Offices and Places of Truſt there ſhould be granted by Patent to Perſons in *England*, with Liberty to execute ſuch Employments by Deputies, by which Means they are generally farmed out to indigent Perſons, who grind and fleece the People: So that the Inhabitants, though many of them are rich, ſober, and judicious Men, yet they are excluded from Offices of Truſt, except ſuch as are chargeable in the Execution, which is inconſiſtent with all the Rules of well governing a Country.

They who have viſited the North Tract of *America*, and who have obſerved the ſeveral Ways and Degrees of Cultivation, with reſpect to the Quality and Quantity of their Produce, the Oeconomy of the People, and the Adminiſtration of the reſpective Gevernments, cannot better expreſs the Diſproportion throughout, between

Place and Place, than by comparing them with the many Principalities and States of *Germany*, where the Proteſtant Countries are, for the moſt Part, better peopled, and their Towns better kept, than thoſe under Catholic Governments: And ſo it fares with the Hans or Free Towns, as they are called, above thoſe under abſolute and arbitrary Princes: Where the Conſtitution is freer, and the Magiſtracy more ſober, the People are more induſtrious, and the Country improves in proportion.

And had it not been for Provinces begun and carried on by People of Sobriety, the *Engliſh* Empire abroad would be much weaker than it is at preſent; it having been the Unhappineſs of ſome to take their Original from another Race of Planters, vicious, needy, or criminal, who, though a Profit to the Kingdom by being there, yet by no Means in proportion with the other Sort. And as Licentiouſneſs breaks out much more apparently in ſuch Places, ſo that it is not all, for Governors (as is ſaid) are too apt to make their Advantages of it, who, by indulging ſuch Extravagancies, find their own Accounts the better; it being plain that the common People are but too ready to exchange their Liberties for Licentiouſneſs, and to wink at thoſe who will connive at them.

If ever any Thing great or good be done for our *Engliſh* Colonies, Induſtry muſt have its due Recompence, and that cannot be without Encouragement to it, which, perhaps, is only to be brought about by confirming their Liberties, and eſtabliſhing good Diſcipline among them: That, as they ſee they are a free People in Point of Government, ſo they may, by Diſcipline, be kept free of the Miſchiefs that follow Vice and Idleneſs.

And as great Care ſhould be taken in this Reſpect, ſo, without Doubt, it is adviſable, that no little Emulations or private Intereſts of neighbour Governors, nor that the Petitions of hungry Courtiers at Home, ſhould prevail to diſcourage thoſe particular Colonies, who, in a few Years, have raiſed themſelves by their own Charge. Prudence, and Induſtry, to the Wealth and Greatneſs they are now arrived at, without Expence to the Crown: Upon which Account any Innovations or Breach of their original Charters (beſides that it ſeems a Breach of the Public Faith) may, peradventure, not tend to the King's Profit.

In thoſe Colonies, which, by Charter, are not governed from hence, as to all Dues belonging to the Crown Revenue,

Revenue, the King has an immediate Influence, by having an Officer of his own upon the Spot, as in other Places.

And the Dues of the Crown ariſing from the Improvements of the Soil, it ſeems more probable that ſuch Improvement ſhould be made by thoſe who have an Intereſt and Property in the Country, and who work for themſelves, than by Governors ſent from hence, whoſe moſt common Aim is to grow rich by fleecing the Inhabitants; and this Property is, without Doubt, the beſt Caution and Pledge for their good Behaviour, both to the King and to his Subjects in thoſe remote Parts, who, as it is ſaid, in former Times, have been ſeverely handled by tranſient Governors.

The Welfare of all Countries whatſoever depends upon good Government; and, without Doubt, theſe Colonies will flouriſh, if they are intruſted to honeſt, diſcreet, and ſkilful Hands, who will let them perceive they enjoy the Rights and Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, though not in *England*.

Induſtry has its firſt Foundation in Liberty: They who either are Slaves, or who believe their Freedoms precarious, can neither ſucceed in Trade nor meliorate a Country. We ſhall not pretend to determine whether the People in the Plantations have a Right to all the Privileges of *Engliſh* Subjects; but the contrary Notion is perhaps too much entertained and practiſed in Places which happen to be diſtant from St. *Stephen*'s Chapel. Upon which Account it will peradventure be a great Security and Encouragement to theſe induſtrious People, if a declaratory Law were made that *Engliſhmen* have Right to all the Laws of *England*, while they remain in Countries ſubject to the Dominion of this Kingdom. But as the arbitrary Proceedings and Mal-adminiſtration of Governors ſhould be ſeverely animadverted upon, ſo frivolous and wrong Complaints ſhould be as much diſcouraged.

And in this Place we think ourſelves obliged to take Notice, that Public Enquiry ought to be made into the oppreſſive and ſcandalous Behaviour of ſome Merchants towards the Sugar and Tobacco Planters.

When the Matters of *America* ſhall come under ſuch a Conſideration, as may produce a Settlement, the Parties concerned in Trade, Property, and Intereſt, will be able to Inſtance many particular Regulations that may

improve the Country and render the Traffic more profitable. In the mean while we have offered what has occured to our Obſervation, to which we ſhall add ſome few Remarks relating to the Trade, Government, and Civil Policy of thoſe Countries; which are,

1ſt, That no Province ſhould obſtruct or clog the Paſſage of any Ship, or Goods coming from *England* through it, with any Cuſtom or Duty; for that it plainly incommodes and diſcourages the King's Subjects, and puts them upon making Shift without the Uſe of thoſe Goods, and ſo far hinders the Conſumption of our *Engliſh* Product and Manufacture, and thereby hurts Trade and Navigation; beſides, it is unwarrantable by the Laws of *England*.

2dly, That where the Navigation Act forbids it not, a Coaſt Trade from Province to Province ſhould be allowed there, as it is here from County to County; by which Means Sloth will be puniſhed with Want, as it ſhould always be, and Induſtry will receive its juſt Reward.

3dly, That one Province ſhould not protect the Fugitives of another for Crimes or Debts, but that Juſtice ſhould be done according to the Conſtitution of the ſeveral Provinces.

4thly, It ſeems neceſſary to put *Newfoundland*, now growing conſiderable, under ſome Government or other Regulation as the Plantations are.

5thly, It may be worth the Conſideration of the State, whether this preſent Peace may not be a proper Seaſon to build Forts and Citadels for Security of the Principal Iſlands, in Caſe of a future War.

6thly, Care ſhould undoubtedly be taken, not to lay ſuch heavy Duties upon the *Weſt-India* Commodities, as may diſcourage Induſtry, diſpeople the Iſlands, and, in Proceſs of Time, perhaps make the Planters deſperate. And here it may not be improper to take Notice particularly of the high Impoſition laid upon refined Sugars, imported hither upon a wrong Notion of advancing our Manufactures; whereas, in truth, it only turns to the Account of about 50 Families, (for the Refiners of *England* are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a Bar to the Induſtry of at leaſt 14,000 Perſons, which are about the Number of thoſe who inhabit our Iſlands producing Sugar.

7thly,

7thly, It would very much conduce to the Support and Proſperity of the Sugar and Tobacco Plantations, to put the *African* Trade into ſome better Order. So great a Part of our Foreign Buſineſs ariſing from theſe Colonies, they ought undoubtedly to have all due Encouragement, and to be plentifully ſupplied, and at reaſonable Rates, with Negroes, to meliorate and cultivate the Land. The Labour of theſe Slaves is the principal Foundation of our Riches there; upon which Account, we ſhould take all probable Meaſures to bring them to us at eaſy Terms.

There are Three Ways of managing the *African* Trade; by a Joint Stock, by an open Traffic, or by a regulated Company; which of theſe will be the beſt is not very eaſy to determine: but in Matters of this Nature, Experience is the ſureſt Guide we can have to follow.

And Experience has taught us, that this Trade has not been governed with good Succeſs, by a Company with a Joint Stock. For it is alledged that they have not ſupplied the Planters with ſuch a Plenty of Negroes as was requiſite; that they forced them to accept of ſuch a Sort as they thought fit to bring; that the uſual and fair Rate ſhould be, One Head with another, from 16 *l.* to 20 *l. per* Head, which by ill ſupplying the Market, they brought to 40 *l.* and 45 *l. per* Head. That in their Dealings, they took Bond and Judgment of the Planters, with an Intereſt of 10 *l. per Cent.* executing their Securities upon Non-payment, by ſeizing the Plantations with the utmoſt Rigour. And that theſe Courſes have almoſt depopulated the Southern Iſlands.

It muſt certainly be prudent in any Trade, Manufacture or Buſineſs, to render the firſt Material as cheap as poſſible. Slaves are the firſt and moſt neceſſary Material for Planting; from whence follows that all Meaſures ſhould be taken that may produce ſuch a Plenty of them, as may be an Encouragement to the Induſtrious Planter.

For theſe Reaſons, it is ſubmitted to better Judgements, whether it may not be for the Intereſt of *England* to manage the *African* Trade, as that to *Turkey* is carried on by a regulated Company. By which we mean, that it ſhould be free for any Merchant to deal to *Africa*, and from thence to the Iſlands, and from the Iſlands to the other Colonies, paying ſo much *per* Pound, as may

be thought needful to bear the common Expences of the Trade, and to maintain Forts and Garriſons upon the Coaſt, if they are thought neceſſary.

In the Regulations of our Foreign Traffic, the Nature of the Trade itſelf, and the Manners of the People with whom we deal, are to be conſidered; but Experience is chiefly to be conſulted.

The Courſe of many Years, and the Practice of all our Neighbours, ſeem to approve of a Joint Stock, as the beſt Courſe of managing the *Eaſt-India* Trade; and we ſhall endeavour to ſhew in the next Diſcourſe, that it is not well to be ſupported any other Way.

But we are inclined to think, that to lay the *African* Trade a little more open, and to put it under a regulated Company, is more conſiſtent with the Intereſt of our Plantations.

The Circumſtances of the *African* and *Eaſt-India* Trade differ extremely: In the *Indies* we have powerful Concurrents, who, in Proceſs of Time, may be able to ſupplant us, againſt whom united Wiſdom, Stock and Councils, are of abſolute Neceſſity; but we are not under Apprehenſions of Rivals upon the Coaſt of *Afric*.

The Stock of the *Eaſt-India* Trade was 1,574,608 *l.* and the Trade will bear a Stock of two Millions, which is too great a Sum, and too conſiderable a National Concern, to be truſted to the diſorderly Meaſures of an unſkilful Number of Traders; whereas experienced Planters will be the chief Dealers to *Africa*; and the Stock needful (as far as is yet known) for the *African* Trade does not exceed 200,000 *l.* and the Stock employed by the late Company, as we are informed, did not amount to above 75,000 *l.*

The Writer of theſe Papers has ſeen a Scheme for the general Government of the Northward Plantations, which ſeems contrived with very good Judgement; upon which Account, he thought it not unſeaſonable to offer the Heads of it here to Public Conſideration.

1. That the Colonies of *Boſton*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode Iſland*, *New York*, both the *New Jerſeys*, *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *Carolina*, may be authoriſed to meet once a Year, and oftener if Need require, by their ſtated and appointed Deputies, to debate and reſolve of ſuch Meaſures as ſhall be moſt adviſable, at any Time, to take for their Public Tranquility and Safety.

2. That

2. That in Order to it, Two Perſons well qualified for Underſtanding, Sobriety and Subſtance, be appointed by each Province, as their Repreſentatives or Deputies, which, in the whole, will make the Congreſs to conſiſt of Twenty Perſons.

3. That the King's Commiſſioner for that Purpoſe eſpecially to be appointed, ſhould have the Chair, and preſide in the ſaid Congreſs.

4. That they ſhould meet as near as conveniently may be to the moſt central Colony, for the Eaſe of the Deputies.

5. Since that may, in all Probability, be in *New York*, both becauſe it is near the Centre of the Colonies, and for that it is a Frontier, and the Governor in the King's Nomination; that Governor to be likewiſe the King's High Commiſſioner during the Seſſion, after the Manner of *Scotland*.

6. That their Buſineſs ſhould be to hear and adjuſt all Matters of Complaint or Difference between Province and Province: As 1ſt, Where Perſons quit their own Province and go to another, that they may avoid their juſt Debts, though able to pay them. 2dly, Where Offenders fly Juſtice, or Juſtice cannot well be had upon ſuch Offenders in the Provinces that entertain them. 3dly, To prevent or redreſs Injuries in Point of Commerce. 4thly, To Conſider of Ways and Means to ſupport the Union and Safety of theſe Provinces, againſt their common Enemies: In which Congreſs, the Quotas of Men and Charges will be much eaſier and more equally allotted and Proportioned, than it is poſſible for any Eſtabliſhment made here to do; for the Provinces knowing their own Condition and one another's, can debate that Matter with more Freedom and Satisfaction, and better adjuſt and Balance their Affairs in all reſpects for their Common Safety.

That in Times of War the King's High Commiſſioner ſhould be General or chief Commander of the ſeveral Quotas, upon Service againſt the Common Enemy, as ſhall be thought adviſeable for the Good and Benefit of the whole.

This Conſtitution has ſome Reſemblance with the Court of the *Amphictiones*, which was a Kind of Council where the general Affairs of *Greece* were debated; which if they could have preſerved in its original Purity,

and

and to the first Design of it, that Country had not been so easy a Conquest to the *Romans*.

The Welfare of all Countries in the World depends upon the Morals of their People.

For though a Nation may gather Riches by Trade, Thrift, Industry, and from the Benefit of its Soil and Situation; and though a People may attain to great Wealth and Power, either by Force of Arms, or by the Sagacity of their Councils; yet, when their Manners are depraved, they will decline insensibly, and at last come to utter Destruction.

When a Country is grown vicious, Industry decays, the People become effeminate and unfit for Labour. To maintain Luxury, the great Ones must oppress the meaner Sort; and to avoid this Oppression, the meaner Sort are often compelled to seditious Tumults, or open Rebellion.

Such therefore who have modelled Governments for any Duration have endeavoured to propose Methods by which the Riotous Appetites, the Lusts, Avarice, Revenge, Ambition, and other disorderly Passions of the People, might be bounded.

And to preserve Societies of Men from that perpetual War with which the State of Nature must be attended, and to restrain that Discord which must for ever embroil those who only follow the wild Dictates of ungoverned Nature, the Founders of Cities, States, and Empires, have set a-foot Forms of religious Worship to awe their Minds, and devised wholesome Laws to keep within Bounds the Persons of the People.

It has been set forth in the Series of this Discourse, of what Profit the *American* Plantations have been to *England*; and it may not be improper before we conclude, to add something concerning their future Polity and Government, and to shew what methods, in all Likelihood may preserve their Being in that remote Region, give them Stability and a firm Existence, and so render them a lasting Mine of Riches, and a perpetual Advantage to this Kingdom.

And as a Foundation, we think it necessary to lay down, that those Countries cannot subsist long in a flourishing Condition, and in their Obedience to this Crown, unless Care be taken to cultivate Morality and Virtue among them, to promote Religion, and to estab-

tabliſh ſound Laws, by which they may be well and wiſely governed.

But here it may be objected, 1ſt, What Form of Religion ſhall be ſet up among a People, who, many of them, have left their Native Soil, chiefly to enjoy a more ample Liberty in religious Matters? 2dly, How can virtuous Principles be inſtilled into Men, the Badneſs of whoſe Lives and Manners have compelled moſt of them to ſeek another Habitation?

To the Firſt Objection we anſwer, That the ſame Liberty of Conſcience ought to be permitted there as here; but that the Governors and Magiſtrates ſhould take Care to keep the People to the Obſervation of ſome Religion or other; and now more eſpecially, ſince the Laws have in a Manner allowed every Man to chuſe which Sect he pleaſes.

To the Second Objection we ſay, That the *Roman* Nation was firſt compoſed of Thieves, Vagabonds, fugitive Slaves, indebted Perſons, and Outlaws; and yet, by a good Conſtitution and wholeſome Laws, they became and continued for ſome Ages, the moſt virtuous People that was ever known; ſo that as looſe Adminiſtration corrupts any Society of Men, ſo a wiſe, ſteady, and ſtrict Government, will in Time reform a Country, let its Manners have been never ſo depraved.

And the ſame good Government would undoubtedly reclaim thoſe Vices which ſome of our *American* Planters may have carried thither.

Whenever a Country loſes that Reverence that is due to Religion and the Laws, we may ſafely Pronounce, that its Ruin is not very Diſtant.

And as Contempt of Religion and the Laws, is a ſure Mark of a declining Nation; ſo new Colonies and Societies of Men muſt ſoon fall to Pieces, and dwindle to nothing, unleſs their Governors and Magiſtrates interpoſe, to ſeaſon betimes the Minds of ſuch a new People, with a Senſe of Religion, and with good and virtuous Principles.

Themiſtocles did once ſay, that of a ſmall City he could make a great People. This he ſpake from the right Senſe he had of his own Abilities and Skill. Governors and Magiſtrates that are the Reverſe of him, and who rule weakly, can render a potent Country in a ſhort Time poor, deſpiſed, and Miſerable.

Such

Such to whom the Government of these Colonies is intrusted, should endeavour to hinder the growth of all Kind of Vices, as Intemperance and Luxury; for Luxury is the Parent of Want, and Want begets in the Minds of Men Disobedience and Desire of Change.

To see that Impiety be not countenanced, nor Books exposed to the Vulgar, which tend to the Overthrow or weakening of the general Notions of Religion, should be no less their Care.

It is no less their Duty to promote Virtue, and to encourage Merit of any Kind, and to give it their helping Hand: Such as have been counted great and able Statesmen in all Countries, have so done; and judged that to propagate what was good, and to suppress Vice, was the most material Part of Government.

They should discountenance Immoralities of all Sorts; they should see them exposed in Public; they should cause the Pulpits to declaim against them; they should make them a Bar to Preferment, and the Laws should be all pointed against them.

Such a Conduct, with Encouragements to Learning and learned Men, a careful Education of their Prime Youth, in seasoning of them betimes with the Sense of Honour, and a Love to their Mother Country, will go very far towards correcting the Manners of these new-planted and licentious People.

They will reap this Fruit by cultivating Letters and Learning, that the wise Precepts and great Examples which are to be met with in ancient Histories, will inflame the Minds of their Young Men with a Desire of the Renown and Glory with which good Actions are attended; and from thence they will learn to subdue those Passions and Appetites that otherwise may lead them into warm, foolish, and destructive Counsels.

But this is not a Diet for the Vulgar; Philosophy and Moral Rules will prevail very little with the Common People, and but few Understandings are capable of the Benefits which may be received from thence: Wise Lawgivers have therefore endeavoured to keep the inferior Rank of Men within Bounds, by a Sense of Religion, and a Fear of offending that Power by which they were created.

And because the Capacities of Men were at first very gross, requiring gross Objects, the Divine Rights instituted

inſtituted in the Beginning had not their Foundation in the Mind, but conſiſted in bodily Worſhip, Ceremonies and Sacrifice: It is true, the wiſer Sort had generally One Religion for themſelves, and another for the Vulgar.

However, they governed and kept the Common People in Awe with theſe Holy Myſteries, and that Kind of Worſhip that was in Practice by the Laws and Cuſtom of their Country, never diſturbing them with any nicer Speculations.

A few of the Sublimer underſtandings might adore God, becauſe he is the moſt perfect Being; love Virtue for its own ſake; and, upon the ſame Score, revere Juſtice; but theſe Principles were not ſufficient to keep a giddy Multitude in Order; therefore, in all Civilized Countries, a Form of Divine Worſhip has been ſettled.

And here we cannot help taking Notice, that if Philoſophy will not ſuffice to bind the Common People to their Duty, what muſt be ſaid of ſome modern Politicians, who ſhew no Deſire of ſetting up Morality, and yet are pulling down revealed Religion.

Stateſmen have been accuſed of being uncertain themſelves in religious Points; but till lately they were never ſeen to countenance in others ſuch a Looſeneſs, and till of late Years, it was never known a Recommendation to Preferment.

Would it any Thing avail the Public to have the ſettled Opinions concerning Divine Matters quite altered by the Law? If not, Why do ſuch as propoſe Innovations in revealed Religion, find ſo many open Advocates, and thoſe of the higheſt Rank? On the contrary, muſt it not much diſtract the State, to ſet the Minds of Men once more afloat in theſe myſterious Points, which are now believed, and cannot perhaps be examined with any Safety to the Public? How comes it to paſs that the Majority ſuffer themſelves to be guided, and often with hard Reins, by by a ſmall Number? Can it be imagined this is brought about by a right Diſpoſition of Power, whereby the weak come to hold the ſtrong in their Dominion? Or can it be thought that Laws are ſufficient to Subject the Bodies of Men to Government, unleſs ſomething elſe did conſtrain their Conſcience and their Minds?

It is hardly to be doubted, but that if the Common People are once induced to lay aſide Religion, they will quickly caſt off all fear of their Rulers. But ſuch as object againſt the Revealed Religion, as it is now tranſmitted to us, have they another Scheme ready? When they have pulled down the old Frame, can they ſet up a better in its Room? Moſt certainly by their own Lives either in private, or in Relation to the Public, they ſeem very unfit Apoſtles to propagate a new Belief.

When the Common People all of a ſudden become corrupt, and by quicker Steps than was ever known; when they do not revere the Laws; when there is no mutual Juſtice among them; when they defraud the Prince; when they proſtitute their Voices in Elections, it may be certainly concluded, that ſuch a Country is by the Artifice of ſome, and the Negligence of others, ſet looſe in the Principles of Religion.

Nothing therefore can more conduce to correcting the Manners of a depraved People, than a due Care of religious Matters; a right Devotion to God will beget Patience in national Calamities, ſubmiſſion to the Laws, obedience to the Prince, love to one another, and a Hatred to Faction; and it will produce in the Minds of all the different Ranks of Men, true Zeal and Affection to their Country's Welfare.

For theſe Reaſons, if it ſhould be thought convenient to ſettle a Council of Trade by Authority of Parliament, as has been propoſed in the Second of theſe Diſcourſes, or ſuch a Council for the *Indies*, as is mentioned in this Tract, the Legiſlative Power may, from Time to Time, recommend to either of theſe Eſtabliſhments the Care of inſpecting the State of Religion in our *American* Colonies; and they may enjoin the Governors who ſhall be ſent to reſide there.

1. To look into the Lives and Manners of the preſent Clergy.

2. To ſee that no Doctrines are publiſhed, deſtructive to the very Fundamentals of Religion itſelf.

3. Not to enflame, but rather to reconcile thoſe Differences, which of Neceſſity muſt ariſe among People of ſuch different Perſuaſions.

4. To cultivate into the Minds of the Inhabitants, ſober Living, Friendſhip, general Obſervance of the Devotion each profeſſes, Charity, Meekneſs and Piety, eſpecially

eſpecially among thoſe who are truſted to guide the Conſciences of others.

5. To Seaſon betimes the young Men of better Rank and Fortune with a love to *England*, their original Country, that when they return hither with the riches the Induſtry of their Parents has acquired, they may become good Patriots here, and uſeful Members of the Commonwealth.

In order to Protection, they ought to believe *England* their native Soil; and in order to preſerve them in their Obedience, we ought to imprint this Notion in their Minds as much as poſſible.

Few Crimes, either private or relating to the Public, can be committed by thoſe whoſe Minds are early ſeaſoned with the Principle of loving and promoting the Welfare of their native Country. For, generally ſpeaking, all our Vices whatſoever turn to her Prejudice; and if we were convinced of this betimes, and if from our very Youth we were ſeaſoned with this Notion, we ſhould of Courſe be virtuous, and our Country would proſper and flouriſh, in Proportion to this Amendment of our Manners.

Wherever private Men can be brought to make all their Actions and Counſels, Thoughts and Deſignments, to center in the common Good, that Nation will ſoon gather ſuch Strength as ſhall reſiſt any home-bred Miſchief or outward Accident.

No great Thing was ever done, but by ſuch as have preferred the Love of their Country to all other Conſiderations; and wherever this Public Spirit reigns, and where this Zeal for the Common Good governs in the Minds of Men, that State will flouriſh and encreaſe in Riches and Power; and wherever it declines, or is ſet at nought, Weakneſs, Diſorder, and Poverty, muſt be expected.

This Love to their Native Soil, where it has been deeply rooted, and where it could be preſerved, has made little Cities famous and invincible, as *Sparta*, *Corinth*, *Thebes* and *Athens*, and from thence all the *Roman* Greatneſs took its Riſe. But where they are wretchedly contriving their own Ends, without any Care of their Country's Profit, or trafficking its Wealth and Liberties for Rewards, Preferments and Titles; where every One is ſnatching all he can from the Prince;

Prince; and where there is a general Neglect of national Intereſt, they grow luxurious, proud, falſe and effeminate; and a People ſo depraved, is commonly the Prey of ſome Neighbour ſeaſoned with more Wiſe and better Principles.

In a Kingdom but too near us, we may ſee all Sorts of Men labouring the Public Welfare, and every one as vigilant in his Poſt, as if the Succeſs of the whole Empire depended on his ſingle Care and Diligence; ſo that to the Shame of another Place, they ſeem more intent upon the Proſperity and Honour of their Country, under a hard and oppreſſive Tyranny, than they are in ſome free Nations, where the People have an Intereſt in the Laws, and are a Part of the Conſtitution.

Homer in his two Poems ſeems to intend but two Morals. In the *Illiads* to ſet out how fatal Diſcord among the great Ones is to States and Armies. And in his *Odyſſeys* to ſhew, that the Love of our own Country ought to be ſtronger than any other Paſſion; for he makes *Ulyſſes* quit the Nymph *Calypſo* with all her Pleaſures, and the Immortality ſhe had promiſed him, to return to *Ithica*, a rocky and barren Iſland.

The Affairs of a Country relating either to Civil Government, War, the Revenues, or Trade, can never be well and proſperouſly conducted, unleſs the Men of principal Rank and Figure diveſt themſelves of their Paſſions, Self-intereſt, overweening Opinion of their own Merits, their Flattery, falſe Arts, mean Ambition, and irregular Appetites and Purſuits, after Wealth and Greatneſs.

No People did ever become famous and powerful but by Temperance, Fortitude, Juſtice, Reverence to the Laws, and Piety to their Country; and when any Empire is deſtined to be undone, or to loſe its Freedom, the Seeds of this Ruin are to be firſt ſeen in the Corruption of its Manners. In vicious Governments all Care of the Public is laid aſide, and every one is plundering for himſelf, as if the Commonwealth were adrift, or had ſuffered Shipwreck; and where a People is thus depraved, their National Aſſemblies have the firſt open Marks of the Infection upon them, from whence ſpring all Diſorders in the State whatſoever. For then, ſuch as have moſt Eloquence, Valour, Skill in Buſineſs, and moſt Intereſt in their Country, throw off the Maſk of Popularity which they had put on for a Time, and in

the Face of the World desire Wealth, Honours, and Greatness upon any Terms; and this Ambition leads them to corrupt others, that their own natural Vices may be the less observed; so that in a Constitution ripe for Change, those who are best esteemed and most trusted begin to buy the People's Voices, and afterwards expose to Sale their own Suffrages; which Practice is always attended with utter Destruction, or the Loss of Liberty.

This Error in the first Concoction does presently deprave the whole Mass; for then the Dignities of the Commonwealth are made the Reward of Fraud and Vice, and not the Recompence of Merit. All is bought and sold, and the worst Men who can afford to bid highest, are accepted; and where the Management is once got into such Hands, Factions are suffered to grow, rash Counsels are embraced, and wholesome Advices rejected; every one is busy for himself, and careless of the Common Interest; Treachery is winked at, and private Persons are allowed to become wealthy by the public Spoils: All which is followed with the Loss of Reputation Abroad, and Poverty at Home.

It is hoped the Reader will not think this short Digression about moral Virtue unseasonable, when he considers how much the Wealth and Prosperity of these Colonies, whom we would here recommend to public Care, depend upon the Manners of their People.

Societies of Men are held together by the Bands of Religion and Laws; and having said something upon the First of these Heads, we shall now proceed to handle the Second.

It will, without Doubt, greatly conduce to the Welfare of the Plantations, if their Laws and Politic Institutions were revised and considered by disinterested Persons, who should have no Concern but to form them a Constitution by which they may be well and wisely governed.

In order to this, it is submitted to better Judgements, Whether a Council of Trade, or a Council of the *Indies*, or some such like Authority to be appointed especially for this Purpose, should not inspect all the present Laws and Politic Institutions of these Countries, to the End that a true State of this Affair may, at a convenient Season, be laid before the Parliament of *England*.

And we are humbly of Opinion, that if ſuch Laws as may be thought prejudicial to them, or hurtful to this Kingdom, were abrogated here; and if ſuch of their old Laws as ſhall be judged ſound and wholeſome; and if ſuch new Inſtitutions as may be eſteemed neceſſary for thoſe Parts, did receive ſome Sanction from the Legiſlative Power of this Kingdom, it would make our whole Buſineſs in *America* more conſiſtent, and faſten with ſurer Ties thoſe Colonies to this Nation.

What we propoſe is thus: That their firſt Model of future Government ſhould be framed here; that afterwards they may have Power to make for themſelves ſuch Laws as they ſhall think needful for their better Polity; and theſe Laws, thus enacted among them, not to be reſcinded but by Authority of Parliament in *England*.

And this ſeems the more neceſſary, becauſe, heretofore, many good Laws, formed there, have been abrobated here, upon the falſe and corrupt Suggeſtions of intereſted Perſons; beſides, nothing can be more pernicious to a People, than Levity in making and reſcinding Laws.

A Model has been offered, in this Diſcourſe, to public Conſideration, for erecting the Ten Provinces or Places that lie Northward into one National Aſſembly, where all Things relating to their better Government may be tranſacted.

And it is ſubmitted to better Judgements, Whether it would not greatly tend to the Welfare and Safety of thoſe Places, that Laws, not contrary to the Law of *England*, enacted in ſuch an Aſſembly, ſhould remain in Force, till altered by the Legiſlative Power of this Kingdom.

Without Doubt, it would be a great Incitement to their Induſtry, and render them more pertinacious in their Defence, upon any Invaſion which may happen, to find themſelves a free People, and governed by Conſtitutions of their own making.

All Governments have laſted according to the Strength and Vigour of Mind with which they were at firſt begotten, and as their Founders have been ſkilful; and, as weak, crazy, and diſeaſed Parents engender ſickly, ſhort-lived, and ricketty Children; ſo impotent Stateſmen frame politic Inſtitutions not durable, eaſily overthrown, and unable to reſiſt Accidents.

But

But, peradventure, Governments are by no kind of Wiſdom to be rendered immortal; at leaſt thoſe which, in Appearance, were formed with the greateſt Skill, have been ſubject to frequent Changes, and are moſt of them buried in the Ruins of Time.

For, as we are ſaid to bring with us into the World thoſe Diſeaſes by which our Decay and Death is to be wrought; ſo Governments, in their primitive Inſtitutions, have within them the very Seeds of Deſtruction by which, at laſt, they are to be ſubverted.

In the framing of abſolute Monarchies, that Power which is given to a ſingle Perſon for the Safeguard of the People, does always turn to ſuch Exceſs and Tyranny, as, in concluſion, proves deſtructive to the whole: In the forming of Commonwealths, that Diviſion of Power which is made between the many and the few, gives riſe to that Diſcord and thoſe Civil Wars, which, in Proceſs of Time, either deſtroy, or quite alter the Conſtitution.

Mixed Governments ſeem contrived for the longeſt Duration; but the Diviſion of Power which is likewiſe in ſuch Forms, and was intended for their Preſervation, muſt, in Time, prove their Ruin, unleſs Faction can be avoided, which is the Bane of all politic Inſtitutions; ſome Tyrants, indeed, are wiſe enough to make it now and then ſubſervient to their Deſigns; but, in mixed Governments, it is equally pernicious to Prince and People.

For which Reaſons, if it ſhould be thought convenient to ſet afoot the National Aſſembly here propoſed for the Northern Colonies, early Care muſt be taken to put a Stop to the Growth of Faction; for, if that be ſuffered to reign, it will, in Proceſs of Time, render what was intended for their Good, a Burthen to the Country.

With good Government it is not improbable but that theſe Colonies may become, hereafter, great Nations; upon which Account it ſeems of Importance to give them, in their Infancy, ſuch politic Inſtitutions as may preſerve them for many Ages in Wealth, Peace, and Safety; and in order to this, the nearer they are brought to the Model of the *Engliſh* Government, will, undoubtedly, be the better.

And if they have Governors from hence, or to be approved of here, or of their own electing, (according to their ſeveral Charters) and if they are allowed a National

Aſſembly, it would give them the perfect Enjoyment of our Liberties and Conſtitution.

The original Inſtitutions and Laws of moſt Countries are ſound and good; but as Vice prevails, they become obſolete, and are forgotten; from whence grow thoſe Diſeaſes in the Body Politic that require the ableſt Phyſicians.

But how much a Government ſwerves from its firſt Inſtitution, by ſo much it has a wrong Bent; it ſhould, therefore, be the Care of thoſe to whom the Rule and Direction of theſe Places is committed, to keep them, as much as poſſible, to their original Inſtitution.

In the Model here propoſed, the Governors will, of Courſe, be veſted with all the Powers neceſſary for the Safety and Protection of the whole; and thoſe Aſſemblies may have certain Rights which will be as well an Eaſe and Safeguard to the Governors, as beneficial to the People; but if either Part invades the other, it muſt throw the Public into dangerous Convulſions.

That Government is happy where the Bounds between the chief Power and the People are ſo wiſely laid out and fixed, that no Encroachments can be eaſily apprehended; for the Diſputes and Quarrels concerning theſe Bounds and Limits have always been the chief Gain and Harveſt of bad and deſigning Men, and the Field in which they exerciſe thoſe Wicked Arts that ſo often embroil a Country.

To make this National Aſſembly a laſting Benefit to the Colonies, ſuch as are ſent to govern thoſe Parts ſhould take all poſſible Care to eure the preſent Vices, and prevent the future Corruption of the People.

The Natural Steps to Ruin in Politic Inſtitutions, that have a Mixture in them of Popular Government, ſeem to be in this Manner: 1ſt, Extended Dominion, Power atchieved by Arms or Riches flowing in by Trade, beget Effeminacy, Pride, Ambition and Luxuries of all Kinds; theſe Vices, as they obtain Strength and Growth, produce quickly private Poverty, and then public Want; private Poverty puts ill Men upon wicked Arts to get Wealth, and public Want but too often makes thoſe ill Men neceſſary in a corrupted State.

Thus the *Roman* Gentry were ſo debauched by their Luxuries, and preſſed with their Wants, that they aſſiſted *Cinna*, *Sylla*, *Marius*, *Cataline* and *Cæſar* to invade

vade the Commonwealth; till, at laſt, *Cæſar*'s Tyranny became all the Refuge which the Public had in its Diſorders and Calamities.

When the Gentry for ſome Time have been ſet looſe in their Principles, the Common People begin to lay aſide their Worth and Integrity, and the whole Maſs of Blood in the Body Politic grows ſo corrupted, as not to be capable of thoſe Remedies which good Lawgivers and wiſe Stateſmen would offer; ſo *Auguſtus* ſaw the *Romans*, in that Age, not fit for Freedom, which, probably, hindered him from reſtoring Liberty, and made him chuſe rather to continue the Empire in the Hands of a ſingle Perſon, and tranſmit it to *Tiberius*.

Theſe National Aſſemblies, the Uſe of which are here recommended for our Northern Colonies, will be of little Benefit, unleſs the People, by whoſe Voices they muſt be choſen, can be kept from being corrupted in their Elections; for, otherwiſe, they will prove but a falſe Appearance of Freedom, which is the worſt Kind of Slavery.

And, in ſome Countries, we have formerly ſeen Liberty in Danger, from that Part of the Conſtitution which ſhould have been the Guardians of it; and this has happened when Princes (having either had Favourites to ſupport, or Deſigns to promote oppoſite to the Welfare of their Subjects, or intending to graſp at more Power than was given them by the Laws) have ſecretly encouraged debauching the People in Elections, to make open Sale of their Voices.

In States where this is practiſed, intriguing Perſons, full of wicked Arts, will get into Poſſeſſion of being conſtantly elected, who, at firſt, ſhall ſeem the beſt Patriots, and moſt jealous of the Nation's Right; but this laſts no longer than till they can bring to a good Market that Credit and fair Repute they had gained before; when their Price is offered and agreed upon, they deſert their Country's Cauſe, and help on, or at leaſt approve, of all that Miſgovernment which had been before the Object of their popular Speeches and venial Eloquence.

Nor could it be difficult for former Princes to corrupt both the Electors and the Elected; for, in moſt Kingdoms, the Court has been a Shop with Wares in it to fit all Kind of Cuſtomers; there is Hope for ſome which feeds many at a ſmall Expence; there are Titles for the

Ambitious; Pleaſures for the Young and Wanton; Places for the Buſy; and Bribes to be cloſely conveyed for ſuch as deſire to maintain an Appearance of Honeſty, and to betray their Truſt but now and then in important Matters. With theſe Baits and Allurements Princes might eaſily draw into their Nets the unthinking Gentry of their Land, and thereby poiſon the Fountain Head of the Laws, and ſap the very Foundations of the Politic Inſtitution.

The Common People are the firſt to complain of Miſgovernment, and the firſt who feel the bad Effects of it; long Wars are carried on at the Expence of their Blood; heavy Taxes pinch them moſt; Revenues are miſmanaged at their Coſt; they ſooneſt feel Decay of Trade and the Nation's Poverty, and yet, generally, it is their Fault if Things are ill-adminiſtered, or at leaſt if they are ſuffered to continue long under an ill Adminiſtration; they are the corrupted Matter for falſe and deſigning Stateſmen to work upon; they fight the Quarrels of turbulent and ambitious Spirits; they are the firſt that follow ſeditious Orators. In the *Roman* Commonwealth they firſt debauched the State, by making Sale of their Voices in Election of Magiſtrates, and in other Conſtitutions they ſend up to National Aſſemblies the Men whoſe mercenary Eloquence is ſo fatal to the Public.

When thoſe who have a Right of Election in mixed Governments ſhall have been in this Manner corrupted, they will ſend up to their National Aſſemblies Perſons by whom, in all Senſes, they ſhall be truly repreſented; and when this happens to a People, they will ſoon be rent aſunder by Factions; public Zeal ſhall be made ridiculous, and often dangerous to its Profeſſors; Treachery ſhall have a ſtated Price, and the Shame of doing it ſhall be quite extinguiſhed: And, in a Country where the prime Youth have been thus bred in a vicious School, and received early a bad Tincture, how can there be found Hands with which the Duties and Offices of State can be well and wiſely guided?

And when it happens in ſuch Forms of Government, that the Spring Head ſhall be tainted, from whence are to be drawn the Men of Experience, Action, and Counſel; buſy Perſons, by different Arts, ſome by abject Flattery, others by perplexing Matters to be bought off, will ſoon prevail to be let into many of the chief Offices and Dignities of the State, which they will ſo pollute with

their foul Dealings, and weaken and make contemptible by their Ignorance, that cleaner and abler Hands will afterwards be hardly invited in to reſtore Things, and give them a better Complexion.

And, in ſuch Times, the worſt of Men, who inſinuate beſt, and are ever the moſt active, will get into many Poſts of Truſt and Importance; and endeavour, if poſſible, to engroſs the whole Commonwealth to themſelves, and invade all her Parts, where they will lie ſtrongly intrenched, and watchful to oppreſs Virtue and Merit of any Kind, with which they are at open War; for, if Endowments of the Mind, Love to the Nation, Integrity, Experience, Conduct, and ſolid Wiſdom, ſhould once obtain, get Ground, and be taken Notice of, they who ſhine, and are recommended by no ſuch Qualities, muſt quit their Holds, and withdraw, or remain the univerſal Contempt of that People, whoſe Affairs they are ſo little able to adminiſter.

Princes well inclined and diſpoſed to govern rightly, are very unfortunate when their Lot is to reign in a Country ſo corrupted. The Sun, though it be the Element of Light and Heat, cannot ſhine out to cheer and comfort Nature in Places where there are always riſing from the Earth, Damps, Fogs, and unwholeſome Vapours; in the ſame Manner, when ill Men are got into a Court, they hang like ſo many dark Clouds before the Throne, obſcuring the Prince's Glory, hindering him from exerting Half his native Worth, and rendering his Warmth and good Influence leſs beneficial to the People.

And though ſuch a Nation ſhould have on the Regal Seat, a Prince formed after the Model of their own Wiſhes, brave in the Field, and wiſe in Council; thoſe bad Men, whom bad and corrupted Times muſt of Neceſſity bring about him, will endeavour, as much as in them lies, to make all his noble Qualities and Virtues as uſeleſs to the World as poſſible; with their weak and pernicious Counſels caſting a Miſt before his Wiſdom; and, by their ill Conduct of the Nation's Strength and Wealth, putting a Stop to the Progreſs of his Valour.

To preſerve theſe Aſſemblies which are here propoſed for the Northern Colonies, it will not only be neceſſary to take Care of the Manners of the People, but likewiſe to provide that the Aſſembly itſelf be not corrupted.

The ancient Cuſtom in the mixed Governments formed in theſe Northern Countries (which will be the beſt Model for them to follow) was, that National Aſſemblies ſhould be frequently called and ſent Home, as ſoon as the Nation's Buſineſs was diſpatched. The Wiſdom of elder Times did never think it convenient, that one and the ſame Aſſembly ſhould ſit many Years brooding of Faction; for it is in thoſe continued Seſſions, where the Skill is learnt of guiding, and being guided where the Youth is depraved, and elder Sinners hardened; where thoſe Parties are formed that give the cunning Speakers ſo much Weight and Value, and where they can bring their Subtilty and Eloquence to Market.

And, in former Reigns, the departing from a Principle ſo eſſential in its Conſtitution, had like to have changed the whole Face of the *Engliſh* Government; for Leeches and other blood-ſucking Worms are ingendered in ſtanding Pools, but flowing Waters do not corrupt or breed ſo many Inſects; the keeping a National Aſſembly long ſitting debauches the Gentry of a Kingdom, and opens a Way to Offices of Truſt, not known among their Anceſtors; but when ſuch Aſſemblies are called together to conſult upon the Difficulties of State, and are diſſolved as ſoon as the Public Buſineſs is diſpatched, the Meaſures of the falſe Politicians become preſently quite altered: They who deſign to riſe, muſt mount by other Steps than formerly; intriguing, heading Parties, running into Faction, and ſudden changing of Sides, will avail the buſy Men but little; a Year or two is not ſufficient to mould and faſhion an Aſſembly to their Deſigns; every new Seſſions young Gentlemen are ſent up, whom it is not ſo eaſy to corrupt; they can fix nothing where there is a perpetual Flux and Reflux of Matter, it is like building on a Quickſand; when ſuch as intend to advance themſelves in the World ſee all this, and that thoſe Aſſemblies are no more the Field in which they can exerciſe their wicked Arts with any Advantage, they naturally fall into other Methods, and are honeſt of Courſe, when it is no longer their Intereſt to be otherwiſe.

In ſuch a Conſtitution there is no need to ſilence troubleſome and perplexing Rhetorick with ſome good Office, nor to buy off and reconcile, at any Rate, Men of turbulent and ambitious Spirits; and, when it is not needful to hire People to ſave their own Country, how much

cheaper

cheaper and more eaſy is Government rendered to Princes, who, then, have a free Choice among their Subjects to call whom they pleaſe into the Service of the State? Whereas, otherwiſe, their Favours are confined to one narrow Place; and as thereby their Goodneſs is made more extenſive, ſo the Stations requiring Abilities and Experience muſt be better filled, when a Court has not the Neceſſity upon it to find out Places for Men, rather than Men that are fit for the Places.

In Countries where this Poſt, ſo eſſential to Liberty, is thus preſerved from Corruption, all Matters relating either to War or Peace, public Revenues or Trade, will go on proſperouſly; and a National Aſſembly, ſo conſtituted, will always produce wholeſome Laws, right Adminiſtration, and a perpetual Race of honeſt and able Miniſters.

What has been here ſaid of great Empires, will, in ſome Proportion, hold in the Direction of leſs Matters, and in the Rule of our Northern Colonies; but, if the Governors now there, or to be ſent thither, find the chief Magiſtrates and Officers in the Government, and the whole Maſs of the People already corrupted, they will be but ill received and liſtened to, in their Endeavours to reform the general Vices and Immoralities of the Country; for Men, when they labour under any Diſeaſe, are fond of conſulting Remedies; but it is not ſo with Governments ſickly and diſtempered, it being then the Intereſt of a great many, that the Malady ſhould be rather nouriſhed, than any Cure hearkened after, and, at ſuch a Seaſon, they who would promote Ethics, in all Likelihood will meet but with a cold Reception: For, if in the reſpective Colonies wicked and ambitious Perſons are got into Power, they will find their Account better in having Flattery promoted than in hearing Truth, ſince they would be undone, if the People ſhould be wakened out of their preſent Lethargy; they will not deſire to have Abuſes corrected, as being their beſt Foundation; they will be afraid of wholeſome Precepts and Examples, as being ſo many Reproaches to their Conduct; they will not dare to be brought to the Bar of right Senſe and Reaſon, by which their Actings are never ſquared; they will not deſire to have Morality advanced, as prejudicial to their Deſigns; they will dread Reformation of any Sort, as knowing they muſt be laid aſide with Scorn, and

return

return to their firſt Obſcurity whenever things are capable of being mended.

And let the Governor be never ſo knowing and vigilant either by the Prevalency of their Faction, or by being able to give Oppoſition and to diſturb his Buſineſs, or by having learnt the Ways of gaining ſuch as are neareſt his Perſon, or by affecting high Zeal to his Service, they will creep into Stations of the chiefeſt Truſt and Importance, in which, when they are once planted, it will coſt him more Care and anxious Thoughts to defend them than to protect his Country.

But they prevail moſt if he happens to be under any preſſing Wants, becauſe it recommends their Tricks and Arts, whereby this Want is to be ſupplied; and often they will entangle his Affairs, to render neceſſary their ſingle Skill, which is, how to deceive the People. At his firſt Arrival they will never let him into a true Knowledge of Men, nor who are fitteſt for his Service; for they openly ſay, there is no more requiſite to the Diſcharge of any Truſt than an Intereſt to procure it; a right Maxim for them to eſtabliſh, who are the Product of mere Favour. They imagine all Wiſdom conſiſts in ſound Flattery, and that he who approves the preſent does enough to ſecure the Future. Men of deep Reach they are afraid of, and with Reaſon, for ſuch look quite through their Deeds, which bear no Enquiry. Men of Experience they count dangerous, and ſo they are to Magiſtrates that want it. All-ſufficient in their own Thoughts and clothed with Preſumption, they often take upon them to ſteer the Commonwealth, whoſe utter Ruin they madly venture every Moment, being ſo far unable to ſit at Helm, that they are hardly fit to handle the very Sails; when it looks ſmooth above, they believe all ſafe at Bottom, never ſounding any Depths, as having no Plummet, and when the Ship goes right, it is Chance only that brings it into harbour.

In forming that National Aſſemby which is here propoſed for the better Government of the Northern Colonies, the Principal Matter to be recommended to the Common People is to elect Men of Fortune, Integrity, Public Spirit, and Virtue; and above all Things, to avoid thoſe Peſts of Human Kind, fine Talkers and buſy intriguing Speakers, whom they anciently called Orators.

It cannot indeed be properly ſaid that Eloquence is a Plant of our Soil, (for it really never grew any where but in a Commonwealth) however we may have ſomething like it; and in modern Times there have been ſome who could ſpeak with a dangerous Degree of Force; and grave Actions, Preſidents, vehement Figures, and Popular Arguments, can prevail very much in Aſſemblies, where a great many are diſpoſed beforehand to be perſuaded.

This Age muſt needs have ſomething that at leaſt reſembles the former Eloquence; for as in *Greece* and in *Rome*, ſo not long ſince there have been ſeen great Speakers courted, and in the Pay of Foreign Kings and States, and bought up by their own Princes at any Price. Whether or no we have reached the ancient Strength of Speaking, ſhall not be now decided; but this may be boldly pronunced, That, in former Reigns, there have appeared Men in this Kingdom as ready to betray the People, as turbulent and contriving, and who have made as bad Uſe of their Faculties, and who have ſold their Words as dear, as any of the *Greek* or *Roman* Orators.

Whenever Liberty is ſubverted, or a Conſtitution changed, the Miſchief commonly proceeds from ſuch Perſons as firſt ſpeak well to gain a good Opinion, and end well to get good Places; never any private Men, or collective Body of a People, are betrayed but by thoſe in whom they put a Confidence: And hardly any have had the Power to do much hurt, but we lifted them up with our own Voices; they were firſt the Nation's, and then the Prince's Favourites: And though Breach of the People's Truſt was their original Riſe, yet Princes have formerly been unfortunate enough to believe they could be well and faithfully ſerved by Perſons ſo looſely principled.

When we have heard Men aſſert boldly our civil Rights and the Country's cauſe, and ſpeak popularly, without ſifting their Deſigns or ſurveying their Ambition, without examining their Pretenſions or looking into their Diſcontents, we have ſurrendered ourſelves blindly to their Conduct, and gone along with them in all Things, they have led and governed us; we have cried them up, extolled their Capacities, and augmented their Reputation; and all this has been but to make them worth

worth the taking off, and but giving them ſomething to betray, which they did the firſt Opportunity; and in the mean while many Princes have heretofore been unhappily perſuaded by their Boſom Enemies, that theſe popular Speakers were the only Perſons proper for their Service.

It is true, in mixed Governments, whoever will be conſiderable, muſt be well ſkilled in all Matters relating to its National Aſſembly; he muſt be Maſter of its Rules and Orders; he muſt have ſome general Knowledge in the Laws; he muſt know how to appeaſe and allay a Heat, and be able to ſtir up and excite a little Warmth upon Occaſions; and, to recommend what he ſays, he muſt ſpeak well, which they commonly do who think diſtinctly.

But many have been poſſeſſed to a high Degree of all theſe Qualities, who yet have been utterly barren and deſtitute of all other Worth and Virtues; ignorant in Men, without any Knowledge of the true Nature of their own Government; Strangers to paſt and preſent Hiſtory; unknowing in the Poſture, Intereſt, and Power of Foreign States; quite unſkilful in the Condition, Strength, Wealth, and Trade of their Native Country; and, which is worſt of all, without any Public Spirit or right Zeal for the Common Good.

Both Prince and People are very unfortunate, who much depend upon thoſe whoſe chief Talent is the Art of Speaking. *Oliver*, *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Pompone de Believre*, Cardinal *Ximenes*, the Duke of Sully, *Woolſey*, Sir *Thomas More*, the *Cecils*, Treaſurer *Buckhurſt*, Secretary *Walſingham*, the Cardinals *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, Secretary *Thurole*, *Cornelius de Wit*, and the Treaſurer *Southampton*, with ſeveral others who may be reckoned, were not recommended, and did not ſubſiſt by this ſingle Gift and Faculty, but ſhined with many Excellencies, and had Variety of Endowments, which enabled them to handle wiſely the Affairs of State in their Times, and rendered their Miniſtry ſo ſucceſsful.

Eloquence is without doubt an Inſtrument very neceſſary in Popular States, and it has introduced and brought upon the Stage of the World many good and famous Men; ſuch as *Pericles*, *Epaminondas*, *Ariſtides*, *Cimon*, *Xenophon*, *Thucidides*, *Æmilius Paulus*, *Cicero*, and the *Catos*,

Catos, who performed great Things for the Honour and Advantage of their Commonwealths. But if it happens to light into Hands not entirely virtuous, it is a Tool with which great Miſchiefs may be wrought; for thereby *Sylla*, *Craſſus*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, crept firſt into that Power, which overthrew the *Roman* Liberty.

The Art of ſpeaking yields good Fruit to the Commonwealth, when it is joined with Courage and Vigilance for the State, as in *Pericles*, with Love to the Public not to be ſhaken, as in the *Scipios*, and with Integrity and Juſtice, as in *Ariſtides*; but it does more Hurt than Good, when it is accompanied with unlawful Ambition, as in *Cæſar*; with Vanity and Riots, as in *Alcibiades*; with Cowardice, as in *Demoſthenes*; and with Corruption, as in *Demades*; for nothing can ſooner haſten the Ruin of a Country, than to have Men lifted high in the Opinions of the People, followed and truſted, in whom their Vices are much more prevailing than their Virtues.

Many have wondered how it came to paſs that the Model of a Commonwealth, which *Solon* recommended to the *Athenians*, had no longer duration. He was a Lawgiver reckoned inferior to none that ever pretended to guide a State, endowed with all noble Faculties of the Underſtanding, and born in an Age when Mankind had attained to the ſublimeſt perfection of Virtue and Wiſdom; yet he lived to ſee his Scheme of a Democracy overthrown, to make Room for the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*; and though 40 Years after it was reſtored and mended by many excellent Laws, that Form of Government was ſoon rent aſunder, and in one Century quite aboliſhed.

But though he had fortified his Conſtitution with all poſſible Foreſight and human Prudence, yet there was ſomething rooted in the very Nature of the *Athenians*, that muſt eternally hinder them from remaining long under one Sort of Eſtabliſhment; which was, that in the moſt important junctures, and in the niceſt Buſineſs, they might at all Times be blown any Way by the Breath of Orators; and that in their Councils they might be guided, ruled, and managed by Eloquence: They ſeldom liked a Man ſo much for doing well as for ſpeaking finely, which is indeed the Vice of moſt States whoſe Affairs are chiefly governed

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by popular Aſſemblies, and is, peradventure, the Reaſon that Governments, purely democratical, are not durable and perfect; for in mixed Conſtitutions, ſuch as was that of *Sparta*, the Wiſdom of a few, the Senate, and the Authority of a ſingle Perſon, the King, was ſome Counterpoiſe to that dangerous Intereſt and Power which bad Men will now and then obtain, by talking magnificently to the People: Whereas, in democratical Inſtitutions, and principally in *Athens*, Orators have carried all Things before them with a Sway unlimited; and being firſt corrupted themſelves with Money, have afterwards, with falſe Rhetoric, corrupted their Cities to give unrighteous Judgements, to baniſh and put to Death their beſt Citizens, and to make unſeaſonable Leagues, and enter into deſtructive Wars, with other the like Meaſures, that were ſoon attended with Ruin to the Public.

Whoever looks over with Care the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, will plainly ſee that the Liberty of *Athens* was ſubverted by their Orators; they were the firſt Promoters of thoſe raſh Advices, that by Degrees undermined the Conſtitution; and they were the original Movers of that War with *Antipater*, which ended in the *Athenians* being forced to receive a Garriſon in the very Port of *Munichia*, and at laſt in the Slavery of all *Greece*; and without ſeeking for other Reaſons, we may ſafely affirm, that the Orators, with their Corruption, Violence, and Fraud, pulled down and deſtroyed the Democracy of *Solon*.

When Men who have thus recommended themſelves, by the Art of Speaking, to a good Opinion in the World, have got into Power, their firſt Buſineſs is either to create or encourage Faction; they deviſe or revive Names of Diſtinction to keep up Diſcord; and from the different Inclinations and Sentiments we naturally have, as well in Politic as in Religious Affairs, they find Matter to raiſe and foment Diviſions, till at laſt they try to range the Church, the People, and its National Aſſembly, as it were, under Two Banners.

The corrupt Part of theſe oppoſite Sides, growing quickly too ſtrong for ſuch as mean their Country well, produce what we call *Parties*, which, in Proceſs of Time, muſt be the Ruin of mixed Governments.

Rome,

Rome, though a large Empire, formed with great Wiſdom, and ſupported all along by Men of the ſublimeſt Virtue, was, notwithſtanding, deſtroyed at laſt by Factions; much more then muſt they pull down Nations depraved, weak within, and ſurrounded abroad by powerful Enemies or falſe Friends.

But they are yet more dangerous to States where both Parties have had the chief Power committed to them, with this Effect only, that each Side in its Turn has ſhown how little fit they were to be truſted with it.

Who would give up his Name to a Faction, and devote himſelf entirely to it, that has known grave Republicans become ſupple Flatterers, and Old Flatterers grow zealous Patriots? And what Prince muſt not have a mean Opinion of ſuch Parties, when he has ſeen neither of them at bottom better principled, than the other, and both Sides agreeing to rob him, to give up any Thing when fairly invited to it, and ready to enrich themſelves with the Nation's Treaſure?

In former Times, when by their fine Talking, and by the Strength of their Parties, bad Men had got into the Management of Public Buſineſs, they preſently introtroduced Diſorder, Decay of Trade, Private Miſery, and National Want; they were an equal Weight upon King and People; by their Errors they firſt embroiled the Crown, and to maintain thoſe Errors, the Crown was often put to Hazard. No Prince could have ſo much the Affection of his Subjects, but by their Conduct he was in a Way to looſe it; the Kingdom had not Wealth enough for their Negligence and Profuſion; they had neither Skill to recover a Misfortune, nor knew they how to make any right Uſe of an Advantage; giddy with Succeſs, and frighted by Calamity, Wiſe after Danger, and diſtracted in it, they endeavoured to give the Court a diſtinct Intereſt from the People, and yet were always dividing among themſelves, hating each other as much as good Men hate them; they were without Experience of their own, and yet deſpiſed the Knowledge of others: Arrogant and impatient of Contradiction, though always in the wrong; they were raſh in reſolving Points of the higheſt Nature, but ſlow in the Execution of the moſt trivial Matters; and though they firſt recommended themſelves by finding Fault with former Miniſters, yet they juſtified the worſt of them

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by their Proceedings; they were eager and active enough, when the Nation was to be fleeced, but ſupine and indifferent in what related to its Preſervation; growing rich, while their Country became poor, and as careleſs of the Public Honour as of their own.

And it has been the general Unhappineſs of ſuch corrupted Countries, that the bad Men are bold and enterprizing, forward and active; whereas ſuch as keep their Integrity are unactive, cold and lazy; contented with the barren Praiſe of not being guilty themſelves, they ſuffer others to invade ſo much Power as that they can do hurt, and do it ſafely; and in a Nation debauched in Principles many Parts of the State may be filled by Perſons of high Knowledge and Virtue, but their Love and Zeal for the Public, and their Vigilance for its Safety, their Prudence, Foreſight and Caution, ſhall be all rendered ineffectual, by the over-ruling Madneſs of others. The Side which would tread in the Path of Honeſty and Wiſdom, ſhall be overborn and ſhoved out of the Way, by the Crowd and ſtrong Faction of thoſe who find their Account in promoting Diſorder and Miſgovernment. Such as maintain their Underſtanding in this general Frenzy, ſhall be admired, but not followed; eſteemed, but not conſulted; heard but not regarded. Mend Things they cannot; if they will be quietly Wiſe and ſay nothing, they are endured; and if unactive, they are ſuffered; when their ſuperior Skill is forgiven and connived at; when ſuch as have more than common Endowments are allowed to ſubſiſt and preſerve themſelves, though they cannot ſave their Country, it is thought a ſufficient Favour; but all the while they ſhall be made uneaſy, purſued with malicious Whiſpers blackened as diſaffected, and made obnoxious to the People, till at laſt they are forced either to retire, or let their Brethern of the State ruin and betray the Nation in quiet.

When a Country thus generally depraved in its Manners, comes to have upon the Throne a virtuous Prince, with what Difficulty muſt he labour for the Public Good, among a people fantaſtical, conceited, greedy, proud, deſigning, ambitious and mercenary? Such a King, when he contemplates in his high Wiſdom all their natural and acquired Vices, muſt hardly think them worth ruling.

Such

Such a Country may have a Hero come over to ſecure their Religion and Civil Rights, which were invaded, and to arm them againſt an Enemy whoſe Power threatened to enſlave *Europe*; yet he may meet with but few to imitate and aſſiſt his Virtues: And though his Ends were the ſame with thoſe of *Dion*, who came from *Athens* to reſtore the *Sicilians* to their Freedom, yet, like *Dion*, he may find the leading Men buried in their Vices, fitter Inſtruments of a Tyranny than for the Sway of a good Prince, not thankful for his Benefits, nor capable of Liberty.

If ſuch Men as are here deſcribed, and of this Stamp and Character, in former Ages, by fine Words, joined with wicked Arts, have crept into Stations of great Truſt, where they rend and gnaw the very Bowels of the Commonwealth, there is Reaſon to Caution thoſe who would form a Model for the better ordering of our *Weſt-India* Colonies, to fortify their Conſtitution, as much as poſſible, againſt the Fraud and Corruption of theſe buſy Talkers, which peradventure is to be brought about, if the Governors to be ſent thither take Care to recommend to the People, to chooſe for the Aſſemblies here propoſed, Perſons in whom they ſhall always have obſerved Public Virtue, by which we mean a conſtant and perpetual Will to do their Country good.

Abſolute Monarchies, corrupted in their Morals and Diſcipline, impaired in their Wealth, ſunk in Credit, and weakened by inbred Diſorders, do very rarely retrieve their Condition; but mixed Governments have an innate Vigour and ſtrength of Conſtitution, which can throw off thoſe Diſeaſes that ſeem to affect them, and whereby they can be recovered from that Decay of Health to which they have at any Time been reduced by unſkilful Stateſmen.

Machiavel ſays, that to render a Commonwealth long-lived, it is neceſſary to correct it often, and reduce it towards its firſt Principles, which is to be done by Puniſhments and Examples. If the wild Proceedings of raſh and giddy Miniſters are now and then looked into, and animadverted upon, it creates Fear and a Reverence to the Laws; and in great Men ſtrong Examples of Clean Hands, Self-denial, perſonal Temperance, and Care of the Public Treaſure, do awaken the Virtue of others, and revive thoſe Seeds of goodneſs which lie hid in

the Hearts of moſt People, and would ſpring out, but that they are choaked up for a Time by avarice and ambition.

And now (in a few Words, to recapitulate the whole Matter of this Diſcourſe) we have ſet forth of what Advantage the Plantations in *America* are to *England*; there has been propoſed a Model for their future Government, in which, to manage their Affairs by a National Aſſembly, is chiefly recommended; we have ſhown the Steps by which Vice is firſt inſinuated into a Country; we have laid down, that when a People is corrupted, its National Aſſembly grows ſoon debauched in Principles; that when the Vices of the Age are gathered to a Head, they produce a great Ulcer called Faction, which is a complication of bad Humours, ſuffered to grow in the Body Politic, through the Negligence and weakneſs of ill Stateſmen; we have ſet forth that corrupted Times embolden bad Men to thruſt themſelves into the Affairs of State, who are always the Authors of warm and bold Councils, which (as * Livy ſays) are pleaſant in their firſt Appearance, but difficult to manage, and fatal in their event.

And all theſe Points have been here handled, with a Deſign to ſhow that if it ſhould be thought expedient to regulate the Conſtitutions of the Northern Colonies, and to give them Power to govern their Affairs by a National Aſſembly; they who form a Model of this Kind, ſhould take Care to propoſe Methods of correcting the Manners of the People, the mending of which has at all Times, and in all free Countries, produced Wiſe and juſt National Aſſemblies, and in ſuch there have been always reared up able Miniſters; and from Stateſmen of that Kind there may continually be expected a ſteady and ſafe Adminiſtration, wherein Faction ſhall be rooted out; for the Progreſs of the Cure is by the ſame Steps as the Diſeaſe firſt grew upon the Body Politic.

To contrive for the Public, and to promote the Common Good, ought not only to be their Care to whom the Adminiſtration of Affairs is committed, but all private Perſons ſhould bend their Study the ſame Way; and

* Tit. Liv. Lib. 35. *Conſilia calida & audacia, prima ſpecie læta, tractatu dura, eventu triſtia ſunt.*

whoever

whoever has received Lights either from Nature, Education, or Experience is bound to Produce them for the Service of his Country.

As he who has gathered any uſeful Inſtructions by contemplating the Growth or Fall of many Monarchies and States, and by weighing the different events of Wiſe and fooliſh Councils, ſhould communicate his Obſervations for the Benefit of others; ſo they, whoſe underſtandings move in a lower Sphere, and who have employed their chief Time and Thoughts in conſidering the Revenues, Trade, and Common Buſineſs of a Kingdom, if they have gained any Knowledge, either by Study or Practice, ſhould offer it to the World, ſince thereby at leaſt they may furniſh Materials, and give ſome hints for abler Heads to Work upon, and improve for the Nation's Profit.

Many may imagine they owe no more to the Commonwealth than to Fight in its Defence, to pay the Prince his Dues, to be juſt to one another, and obedient to the Laws: It is true, theſe are Virtues with which, if a Majority of the People be not ſeaſoned, the Government muſt run into immediate Confuſion: But a great deal more than all this is neceſſary to make a Country flouriſh.

A Government cannot be maintained without a ſufficient Fund of Revenue; and a Revenue is wildly given, where the People's Strength that muſt grant it is not duly underſtood; Taxes not contrived with Skill are a preſent Burthen, and yet anſwer ſo as to bring upon the Kingdom a great future Debt: When the Nature of the Commodities to be charged, and a true Conſumption of them are not rightly conſidered, Funds given upon them prove defective, and ſuch as deſtroy all Credit; where it is not known how to manage and collect Revenues, the People are diſturbed and frightened with a Variety of new Impoſitions, and yet the Public is no Way eaſed nor relieved by what they bring in, but becomes ſtill more and more neceſſitous.

But let the Taxes be never ſo well contrived and ordered, if a Nation be plunged in great Debts which require large Payments from the People, nothing can ſupport ſuch Expence but Foreign Trade; for all Countries have a certain Stock with which their Tillage, Labour, Arts, and Manufactures are carried on: And it is the

radical Moiſture of the Commonwealth, and if it be quite drawn away, the Body Politic becomes Conſumptive, Hectical, and dies at laſt (being Subject to Diſeaſes and Death itſelf, like human Frames); and as human Bodies are not to be kept alive but by receiving in of Nouriſhment, to Repair the Hourly decays which Time produces, ſo Nations cannot ſubſiſt long unleſs they receive from Time to Time reliefs and refreſhments from Abroad, which are no Way ſo well to be adminiſtered as by the help of a well-governed and extended Traffic.

Theſe Conſiderations have induced the Writer of theſe Papers to communicate theſe Schemes, and his Notions concerning Credit, his Obſervations relating to the Public Revenues and the Trade of this Kingdom, and in this Tract to give a ſhort View of Practical Ethicks; which, perhaps, may be thought needleſs at preſent, and rather uſeful to Poſterity.

The Morals here advanced are directed to, and intended for our Colonies Abroad: But in ſucceeding Times our Manners may come to be depraved, and when this happens, all Sort of Miſeries will invade us, the whole Wealth of the Kingdom will not be ſufficient for its Defence; Trade will forſake our Shores, and go to ſome Nation where the Rules of Virtue are better obſerved.

The preventing Remedy againſt ſuch Diſtempers is to be had from the Precepts of Morality, which Writers upon all Sort of Subjects ſhould endeavour to inculcate; for the Vices or Virtues of a Country influence very much in all its Buſineſs; ſo that he who would propoſe Methods by which the Affairs of a Kingdom may be any Way bettered, ſhould at the ſame Time, conſider the predominant Paſſions, the Morals, Temper, and Inclinations of the People: And ſo far as to the Plantation Trade.

THE

THE GREAT
ADVANTAGES
OF OUR
Colonies *and* Plantations
TO
GREAT BRITAIN,
AND
Our Intereſt in preſerving and encouraging them, and how they may be further improved.

By Mr. WILLIAM WOOD.

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SELECT DISSERTATIONS ON Colonies and Plantations.

DISSERTATION III.

The great Advantages of our Colonies and Plantations to Great Britain, *&c.*

By Mr. WILLIAM WOOD.

HAVING taken a View of our *Foreign Traffick* with the ſeveral Countries, to which we have the moſt general and beneficial *Commerce*, I ſhall now proceed to ſay ſomething of our *Colonies* and *Plantations* in *America*; which, together with our *Newfoundland Fiſhery*, have been the chief Encreaſe of our Navigation and Seamen, and the greateſt Encouragement to both. On which Account, as well as in regard to their Product, they are of the utmoſt Concern for us to preſerve and encourage. And if we take care, to preſerve them from foreign Inſults and Invaſions, they will, as they encreaſe in People, probably, conſume much more of our Manufactures, than at preſent they do; though they now give Employment to many Thouſands of Artificers here at Home, and take off great Quantities, eſpecially of our inferior Manufactures; the Returns of which are made chiefly in Tobacco, Sugar, Indigo, Ginger, Cotton, Dying-woods, *&c.* by which we are not only ſupplyed for our own, Conſumption, but with a conſiderable Surplus, which is annually re-exported to *Holland*, *Hamborough*,

Flanders, the *East Country*, *Streights*, &c. which amounts annually to a very great Sum; and is of vaſt Advantage to us, in the general Balance of Trade. And as they produce Commodities indiſpenſably neceſſary to this Part of the World, they may, with Induſtry and Conduct, be made (if we do not ſuffer the *French* to encroach upon us, or rival us) an inexhauſtible Mine of Treaſure to their Mother-country.

I ſhall not here concern myſelf when, or how, any of our Colonies or Plantations were firſt ſettled, any farther, than that ſome of them had their Original, Riſe, and Planting, from the Perſecutions amongſt us, on account of Conſcience; ſet a-foot by the warm Churchmen, in the Reigns of King *Charles* the Firſt, and of his Son King *Charles* the Second, when ſuch as found themſelves diſturbed and uneaſy at Home, retired thither; who, if they had not had that Retreat, muſt have gone to the *Hans Towns*, *Switzerland*, *Sweden*, or *Holland*, (as many did, before the Plantations flouriſhed), to the Detriment of *England* in its Trade and Manufactures, and they who had thus retired to *European* Countries, muſt have been for ever loſt to *England*.

But Providence, which contrives better for us, than we can do for ourſelves, offered in the New World, a Place of Refuge for thoſe People, where (I ſhall herein ſhow,) their Labour and Induſtry is more uſeful to their Mother Kingdom, than if they had continued amongſt us.

It is Matter of Queſtion with ſome, whether our Colonies and Plantations in *America* are not prejudicial to *Great Britain*; and a minute Point with others, whether any Advantage to it. To which I ſhall only ſay, it muſt be allowed, that a Country, which takes no Care to encourage an Acceſſion of Strangers, in a Courſe of Time, will find Plantations of pernicious Conſequence. As for Example; the Colonies in *America* have ruined the *Spaniards*; but this can be no Argument againſt our having them; for there are many Things amiſs in the *Spaniards* conduct; their Monaſteries hinder Marriages; the Inquiſition frightens away Strangers; and in general, there is no Proviſion at all, to repair, what their Colonies carry out. Whereas

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the *Hollanders*, who ſend out greater Numbers every Year than the *Spaniards*, are not diſpeopled by it; their Conſtitution inviting more over to them than they ſend abroad, and in our Colonies and Plantations, all Foreigners may be made *Denizons*, for an inconſiderable Charge; whereby many of all Nations are invited, and encouraged to ſettle and plant in our *Indies*: And the Crown gains *Subjects in them and their Children*; and the Nation gets Wealth by their Labour and Induſtry. There is alſo Reaſon to think, that for ſome Years the Plantations have ſent of their Offſpring, and the Perſecutions abroad have brought over to His Majeſty's Dominions, as many Perſons every Year, as have went to them. Therefore I may ſafely advance, that our Trade and Navigation are greatly encreaſed by our Colonies and Plantations, and that they are a Spring of Wealth to this Nation, ſince they work for us, and their Treaſure centres all here: And as the Laws have tied them faſt to us, it muſt be through our own Fault and Miſgovernment, if they do not ever continue to enrich *Great Britain*; or any, or all of them, become independant of it.

It is indeed true, if a Breach of the Navigation Act ſhould be connived at, even our own Plantations may become more profitable to other Nations than to this Kingdom; but while the Governors, and the ſeveral Officers under the Crown, whoſe Buſineſs it is to take care hereof, do their Duty; while they are not ſuffered to carry the Growth of their own, or other our Colonies to foreign *European* Countries; and in Exchange, bring from thence the Commodities of ſuch *European* Countries, or foreign Colonies, to be conſumed amongſt them; we can never be in Danger of this, nor can they ever be detrimental to this Nation.

But by inſiſting, that no Breach in the Navigation Act be connived at, I would not have it inferred, that I am againſt permitting the Inhabitants of our Colonies and Plantations to trade with, or ſell their Product one with another; or that they ſhould be prohibited to trade to the Colonies or Plantations of any Foreign Nations, with the Goods and Merchandize of the Growth and Manufacture of *Europe*, which have been ſent from hence; or the Proviſions of our Northern Colonies, although in return they ſhould not bring Gold and Silver,

ver, but the Product of that Country they ſhall trade to; and although ſuch Product interfere with, or be of the ſame Species with any of our Colonies or Plantations Produce.

This may not perhaps be reliſhed by our Planters; but if they will not allow it to be for their Intereſt in particular, I am ſure they cannot diſpute its being for the Intereſt of *Great Britain* in general. For by this Means we render Foreign Colonies and Plantations, to be in effect the Colonies and Plantations of *Great Britain*. And this brings me to ſay, That all Laws in our *Southern* Plantations, which lay great Duties on Sugar, Indico, Ginger, and other *Weſt India* Commodities, imported into them, will be found, when fully and impartially conſidered, not only prejudicial to them, but to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom; and that it is our Intereſt, and ſhould be our care, that no Laws, laying ſuch high Duties, remain in Force, or be paſſed for the future, in any of our Plantations.

Foth e Inhabitants, by carrying on a Trade with their foreign Neighbours, do not only occaſion a greater Quantity of the Goods and Merchandize of *Europe* being ſent from hence to them, and a greater Quantity of the Product of *America*, to be ſent from them hither, which would otherwiſe be carried from, and brought to *Europe* by Foreigners; but an Encreaſe of the Seafaring Men, and Navigation in thoſe Parts; which is of great Strength and Security, as well as of great Benefit and Advantage, to our Colonies and Plantations.

The Commodities they bring from the Countries traded with by them, whether Sugar, Indico, Cochineal, Logwood, Cotton-wool, Sarſaparilla, and other Drugs, are ſuch, as are either exported from *Great Britain*, or uſeful to us, in working up Manufactures, or ſuch as we ſhould want, and muſt ſend for, at a much dearer Price from the Mother-countries of thoſe People, with whom ours may trade in *America*.

And though ſome of our Colonies are not only for preventing the Importation of all Goods of the ſame Species they produce, but ſuffer particular Planters to keep great Runs of Land in their Poſſeſſion uncultivated, on purpoſe to prevent New Settlements; whereby they apprehend the Prizes of their Commodities may be affected; yet if it be conſidered, that the Markets

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in *Great Britain*, depend on the Markets of all *Europe* in general; and that the *European* Markets in general depend on the Proportion, between the annual Conſumption, and the whole *Quantity of each Species annually produced by all Nations;* it muſt then follow, that whether We or Foreigners are the Producers, Carriers, Importers, and Exporters of *American* Goods, yet their reſpective Prices in each particular Colony (the Difference of Freights, Cuſtoms, and Importations conſidered) will always bear Proportion to the general Conſumption of the whole Quantity of each Sort, produced in all Colonies, and in all Parts; allowing only for the uſual Accidents, that Trade and Commerce, Agriculture and Manufactures are ſubject to in all Countries; ſuch as a particular Colony being under or over traded to; and under or over ſupplied with Goods and Shipping from other Places; having greater or ſmaller Crops, and demanding more or leſs Supplies of Shipping one Year than another.

If this be admitted, then it muſt certainly be the true Intereſt of our Colonies, as well as of their Mother Kingdom, to enlarge their Settlements, and to ſuffer the Produce of Foreign Plantations in *Engliſh* Shipping to be freely imported and exported again to *Great Britain;* for narrow-limited Notions in Trade and Planting are only advanced by, and can only be of uſe to particular Perſons; but are always injurious to the Publick; in preventing the Employment of our own People, and giving our Competitors the Opportunity of employing greater Numbers of theirs, producing greater Quantities of Goods, and under-ſelling us at Foreign Markets.

If a Trade ſhould be carried on, by which the Product of our Colonies (except Liquors and Proviſions) ſhould be ſold to Foreigners; and our People in any of our Colonies and Plantations, in return, receive the Goods and Merchandize of any foreign Country in *Europe*, for Conſumption among them, it would, indeed, be greatly prejudicial to the Trade and Navigation of *Great Britain;* but this is ſufficiently provided againſt, by the *Act of Navigation.*

Having premiſed this, of the Plantation Trade and Product in general, I ſhall now conſider them apart, in theſe Reſpects; and in order to that, ſhall not mention the Countries, as they range on the Continent, or lie in Latitude, but rank thoſe that produce Commodities of a different

different Nature to this Kingdom, under one Head, and thoſe that produce Commodities of the ſame Nature, under another.

Thoſe under the Firſt Head, are *Virginia*, *Maryland*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Montſerrat*, *Nevis*, *St. Chriſtopher*'s, and *Jamaica*, whoſe Product is Tobacco, Sugar, Indico, Cotton, Ginger, and ſundry Sorts of Drugs and Dying Woods.

Thoſe under the Second Head, are *New-England*, *New-York*, *Carolina*, *Pennſylvania*, *&c.* whoſe Product is Beef, Pork, Bread, Beer, Peaſe, Rice, *&c.* Cod-fiſh, Maccarel, *&c.* Maſts, Boards, Staves, *&c.* Furs, Pitch, Tar, Turpentine, Train Oil, *&c.*

The Product of the Firſt are of a different Nature from what is produced from the Lands of *Great Britain*; and of the Quantities thereof imported, ſuch a Part has been annually re-exported, as has been one great Means of the Balance we have had in our Trades Abroad, particularly with *Holland* and *Hamborough*.

The Produce of the other is not of a different Nature, unleſs Rice, Train Oil, *&c.* and might be ſent to our Sugar Plantations, from *Great Britain*.

But, however the Countries, under the Second Head, may interfere with the Product of this Kingdom, or may produce Commodities of little Value, annually, (as it muſt be owned) different from what *Great Britain* produceth; I ſhall think, until I hear better Reaſons, than I have hitherto met with, (even thoſe advanced by Sir *Joſiah Child* againſt them) and while the *French* are forming ſuch Schemes, and ſettling ſuch Provinces, on the Continent of *America*, whereon Sir *Joſiah* owns ſuch Materials are to be had for building of Ships, (which ſhall be conſidered) that it is highly incumbent upon, and greatly the Intereſt of *Great Britain*, to preſerve, and encreaſe, maintain, and encourage its Colonies on the Continent of *America*.

But, to the Firſt Head or Diviſion, it is computed the Value of Tobacco, of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, annually imported from thence, excluſive of the Cuſtoms, is 600,000 *l.* Two Thirds of which is re-exported; and that the like Value of the Sugars, Indico, Ginger, Cotton, *&c.* annually imported from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Montſerrat*, *Nevis*, and *St. Chriſtopher*'s, is 1,300,000 *l.* One Third of which is alſo re-exported.

And

And it is computed, that there is exported from *Great Britain*, and *Ireland*, to the ſeveral Colonies, and Plantations, belonging to the Crown in *America*, to the Value of 850,000 *l.* and that the Importations from them all, including Silver and Gold, &c. are to the Value of 2,600,000 *l.* So that over and above what we ſend to our Colonies and Plantations, in our Manufactures, native Product, and foreign Commodities, we have a Balance in Return thereof, to the Value of 1,750,000 *l.* which centres and remains among us; and is not like ſuch a Balance in foreign Trade, as muſt be carried out again in Money directly, or in Goods, or Bills of Exchange, to any other Part of the World.

It will probably be objected, that as the Colonies, under the Second Head, make us not any Return of themſelves, in Proportion to what they take annually from us, or yield Commodities of little Value, ſo they have drained us moſt of People: The Fact is ſo; but if it were otherwiſe, the Affairs of other Plantations could not, perhaps, be ſo well carried on; for thoſe Soils which produce the richer Goods, are not ſo proper to cultivate for the Nouriſhment of Life, and to yield Corn, Beef, Pork, Peaſe, &c. (which if they were, the Hands in them are much more advantagiouſly employed, for the Intereſt of themſelves, and their Mother Kingdom;) ſo that the Southern Plantations, eſpecially in Time of War, would be deſtitute of many Neceſſaries, or put upon employing their Hands in planting Proviſions, were it not for the Nearneſs and Induſtry of the Northern Colonies.

'Tis true, theſe Proviſions might be furniſhed from *Great Britain*, but at ſuch a Rate, as would, peradventure much diſcourage the Southern Planters; for beſides their being all conſiderably dearer, ſo ſome Kinds of them could neither be ſo good nor ſo freſh.

But though the People of *New York*, *New England*, *Penſylvania*, *Carolina*, &c. may furniſh *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, *Antigua*, *Montſerrat*, *Nevis*, and *St. Chriſtopers*, with what might be ſent them from this Kingdom; yet they make it ample Amends, by fetching, or taking from it Variety of Manufactures, all Sorts of Cloaths and Houſhold Furniture, much oftner renewed, and as good as the ſame Number of People could afford to have it at Home. So that the Queſtion whether the Northern

Northern Colonies are good for *Great Britain* or no, will depend upon making a right Balance, between the Commodities we ſend thither, and the Proviſions we might ſend to the Southern Plantations, if they were not ſupplied by *New England*, &c. But I am inclined to think, the preſent Courſe moſt advantagious to this Kingdom, for this Reaſon, becauſe the Proviſions we might ſend to *Barbadoes*, &c. would be the unimproved Product of the Earth, as Grain of all Kind, or ſuch Product where there is little got by the Improvement, as Salt Beef, Pork, *&c.* but the Goods we ſend to the Northern Colonies, are ſuch whoſe Improvemeuts may be juſtly ſaid, one with another, to be near four fifths of the Value of the whole Commodities, as Apparel, Houſhold Furniture, and many other Things.

'Tis true, if in *New England*, or any other of our Northern Colonies in *America*, they ſhould pretend to ſet up Manufactures, and ſo cloath, as well as feed their Neighbours; their Nearneſs and low Price would give them ſuch Advantage over this Nation, as might prove of pernicious Conſequence: But this Fear ſeems very remote, unleſs they are diſcouraged in rearing Proviſions, *&c.* (as were the People of *Virginia* and *Maryland*, in planting Tobacco, by the high Impoſitions laid upon it's Importations into this Kingdom, (who in ſeveral Counties in thoſe two Colonies, made Shoes, Stockings, Hats, Linen, and Woollen, not only for their own, but the Uſe of their Neighbours,) which they have been lately in ſome Sort, eaſed in,) becauſe new Inhabitants, eſpecially in a large Extent of Country, find their Account better, (as the People in *Virginia* and *Maryland*, though Tobacco has ſuch high Impoſitions, or Duties, upon it's Importations into *Great Britain*,) in rearing Cattle, Tilling the Earth, clearing it of Woods, making Fences, and by erecting neceſſary Buildings; than in ſetting up Mannfactures; which is the laſt Work of a People ſettled three or four hundred Years, growing numerous, and wanting Territory.

As the Colonies and Plantations belonging to *Great Britain*, are of very great Advantage, and highly beneficial to it; ſo as the Caſe ſtands at preſent, it ſeems reaſonable to think, that the Northern Colonies are a Help to the Southern Planters; as they are chiefly dependent on our Southern Plantations to take off their

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Product, and without it, not, now, having wherewithal to anſwer the Value, ſent to them annually in all Kinds of Manufactures from *Great Britain*. And as the Northern Colonies now anſwer their Returns for them, by Means chiefly of our SUGAR ISLANDS, it ſhews plainly how much it behoves us, to ſecure and preſerve, encreaſe and encourage them; for without our Southern Plantations, our Northern Colonies can be of no real Advantage to us; ſince what they are at preſent, muſt ceaſe on the Decay or Loſs of the SUGAR ISLANDS, from whence their Value to *Great Britain* chiefly ariſes, and for Want of WHICH they would be otherwiſe prejudicial Colonies to their Mother Country.

But the Northern Colonies might be made more advantagious to their Mother Country than they have hitherto been, or otherwiſe can be, if all neceſſary Encouragement were given by this Kingdom for their ſupplying us with Naval Stores, which they may be made capable of doing in very great Quantities: Whether the preſent Encouragement is equal to the Concern it may be to us, I ſhall not pretend to ſay; only that we ought not to regard the Expence of any preſent Encouragement at firſt, when we conſider the future Advantages and Security, not only of our Trade and Navigation, but of all his Majeſty's Dominions: And, 'tis moſt certain, whatever ſhall be paid the Northern Colonies as a Bounty at firſt, to enter heartily and chearfully upon the doing of this, will not be loſt to the Nation, but ſtill remain with us; which can't be ſaid of what we pay to the Eaſt Country, (over and above what they take from us in Manufactures,) which I have obſerved in my ſecond Diviſion, amounts to 200,000*l.* a Year, and would be ſo much ſaved to the Nation, could we have the ſame from our own People.

For though our Naval Stores from the Northern Colonies would be at firſt dearer to the Public than at preſent from the Eaſt Country, yet the enhanced Price would be gain to the *Product of our own Lands, to the Labour of our own People, and to the Freight of our own Ships*, and would centre among ourſelves, which is now paid to the Eaſt Country, and never returns to us.

The Encouragements likewiſe at firſt neceſſary, need not be continued long; for the People, induced by theſe Encouragements at firſt, to turn their Lands to the raiſing of Hemp, *&c.* and to the making of Tar, *&c.* in Lieu

Lieu of ſowing Corn, &c. would fall into this Method, and their Gain would turn to ſo much better Account, they would not leave it, after once entered into it; and the Improvement this would be to our Northern Colonies, would employ a greater Number of Hands, and to a much greater Advantage than at preſent they do; which would conſequently occaſion their greater Demand and Conſumption of the Manufactures and Goods of *Great Britain* of all Sorts.

Nor is it out of the Way to obſerve, that our Shipping being our Security, and our Naval Stores ſo eſſentially neceſſary; our being obliged to fetch them from the Eaſt Country, may, ſome Time or other, be of pernicious Conſequence to the Kingdom, ſhould the Balance of Power in the *Baltic* come ſo to alter, that a Prince, an Enemy to *Great Britain*, ſhould be poſſeſſed of it; eſpecially ſhould we be ſo negligent (*as we have ſometimes been*,) to have no Stores of that Kind by us at ſuch a Time. This is not ſo remote a Fear, or *Chimera*, as ſome may imagine: Whereas, when our Naval Stores ſhall be ſo encouraged in our Northern Colonies, that they may fully ſupply us; we ſhall be in a much ſafer Condition, even as to this Kingdom; and although the Public may at firſt pay dearer for thoſe Stores from thence, than from the Eaſt Country, I have above ſhown, that even the whole Price will be paid to our own People, and centre among ourſelves, a Saving of 200,000 *l. per Annum*, Money, to *Great Britain*, an Increaſe of the Conſumption of our Manufactures, and conſequently the Employment of Hands here at Home; the great Improvement of our Northern Colonies, the Increaſe of our Seamen and Navigation, and a general Security and Advantage to his Majeſty's Dominions.

This I thought fit to offer to the Conſideration of thoſe, whoſe Power it lies in to give theſe Encouragements, and to whom, perhaps, the Advantages we might reap from our Northern Colonies by theſe Means have not occurred.

No Trades deſerve ſo much our Care to procure and preſerve, and Encouragement to proſecute, as thoſe that employ the moſt Shipping; although the Commodities carried be of ſmall Value in themſelves, as a great Part of the Commodities from our Colonies are. For beſides the Gain accruing by the Goods, the Freight in ſuch Trades, often more than the Value of the Goods,

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is all Profit to the Nation; and they likewiſe bring with them great Acceſs of Power by the Increaſe of Ships and Seamen, the proper Strength and Security of this Kingdom.

COLONIES and PLANTATIONS are both Strength and Riches to their MOTHER COUNTRY, while they are ſtrictly made to obſerve the Laws of it; and while ours have *Britiſh* Blood in their Veins, and Relations in *Great Britain*, and can get by Trading with us, the ſtronger and greater they grow, the more the Crown and this Kingdom will get by them; and nothing but our arbitrary Treatment of them, and our Miſgovernment, can make them otherwiſe than beneficial and advantageous to us.

As there is not any Thing more certain, than that our *Weſt India* Trade has greatly enlarged our STOCK, and encreaſed our Navigation, and ſet the general Balance of Trade with ſome Countries for many Years on our Side; ſo, notwithſtanding all our Luxuries, which our Home Product would not ſo well have anſwered, it has enabled the Nation to gather at the ſame Time ſuch *a Maſs of Wealth* as our Wars have expended.

And if the Benefit or Profit from the Plantations be ſuch as is here taken Notice of, or ſomething near it; it cannot be any longer a Matter of Queſtion with ſome, whether our Colonies, and Plantations in *America*, are not prejudicial to *Great Britain*, or a Mute Point with others, whether any Advantage to it; nor can we have any Reaſon to complain of wanting the Inhabitants, they may, in the Courſe of their Settling have taken from us; becauſe the Superlucration from the ſame Number of Men, over and above their own Nouriſhment, could no Manner of Ways have been ſo beneficial to the Kingdom; for to admit that the Number of white People, of *Britiſh* Parentage in them, are 250,000—which, perhaps, is pretty near the Truth, the Labour of ſuch a Number of Men reckoned in the Maſs, could by no Means bring to the Nation One Million Seven Hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds *per Annum* clear Profit; for though the Labour in ſome whole Manufactures, may bring a Superlucration to the Public, of above one Pound yearly *per* Head, yet the Maſs of Mankind reckoned together, 'tis ſufficient, and will very much enrich a Country, if one Head with another brings to the Public Six Shillings

and eight Pence, or ſeven Shillings *per Annum* Gain, (over and above his Nouriſhment, *&c.*) whereas theſe Planters, or his Majeſty's Subjects in *America*, as the foregoing Account ſhews, bring a much larger Profit to the Nation, at leaſt 7 l. 4 *s.* a Head *per Annum*, beſides the Employment they give to the great Number of Ships thither, which amounts to above 100,000 Tons.

I have reckoned the whole People of his Majeſty's Dominions in *America* together, as unwilling, for Reaſons not ſo proper to mention in ſo publick a Manner, to aſſign each Colony and Plantation it's Proportion; and can't help declaring that it is a Matter of great Admiration to me, how in the Space of ſo few Years, ſuch a Number of Men ſhould be got together in Countries, for the moſt Part, ſo wild, and uncultivated; but we may juſtly attribute the Increaſe they have made of Inhabitants, to the Sobriety and temperate Way of living practiſed by the Diſſenters, who retired to them.

As the Supplies from hence do by no Means anſwer the preſent Numbers, it muſt then follow that their Thrift and regular Way of living inclines them more to marry, and makes them more healthful for Generation, and affords them better Means to have the Neceſſaries of Life, as wholeſome Food, and cleanly Dwelling and Apparel; the Want of which in other Countries, is a high Article in the Burials of the common People.

In all our Colonies and Plantations there is an univerſal Tolleration allowed, and in none of them any Difference ariſing among the Inhabitants concerning Religion, every Man worſhipping GOD, according to his Conſcience; and however uncharitable and indiſcreet the Inhabitants of *New England* might formerly be, They are now become to underſtand the Goſpel of JESUS, and the Intereſt of their Province, much better than they did.

I would not be thought to be either excuſing the Opinions, or juſtifying the Separations of any of the Diſſenters from our eſtabliſhed Church, when I advance that the Sobriety they all generally profeſs, is both beneficial in Practice and Example.

But the Truth of the Matter is, that where Riot and Luxuries are not diſcountenanced, the inferior Rank of Men become preſently infected and grow lazy, effeminate, impatient of Labour, aud expenſive, and conſequently

ſequently cannot thrive by Trade, Tillage, and Planting; ſo that when we contemplate the Increaſe and Improvements, which have been made in our Colonies and Plantations, particularly *New England* and *Penſilvania*, we cannot but think it Injuſtice, not to ſay that a large Share of this general Good to theſe Parts is owing to the Education of their Inhabitants, which, if not entirely virtuous, has a Show of Virtue; and if this was only an Appearance, 'tis yet better for a People, that are to ſubſiſt in a new Country by Traffick and Induſtry, than the open Profeſſion and Practice of Lewdneſs and Debauchery, which is always attended with national Decay and Poverty.

Having before proved the Benefit and Advantage, the Plantations and the Trade thereof are to us, it brings me to conſider, what Improvement may be made in either, or what Difficulties and Diſcouragements affecting the ſame may be removed. In former Times, the Governors, or Perſons entruſted with the chief Command or Power in our Colonies and Plantations, have granted ſuch large Tracts of Land, as well to themſelves, as other Perſons, that many Planters have been, and are at preſent prevented from enlarging their Plantations, or having more Settlements, and many Inhabitants from becoming Settlers; which we may probably conclude, as well prevents Servants from going to them as willingly as formerly, as ſtaying there, when they have ſerved the Time they indented for; and it is really become Matter of ſad Complaint, that there is not in any of our Colonies or Plantations, though in moſt of them ſuch vaſt Quantities uncultivated, any Land left near any Settlement, or of any Value, that is unpatented, or not granted to ſome particular Perſon, which deſerves immediate Conſideration; whether we conſider the Loſs that has already enſued, or muſt enſue to this Kingdom, by ſuch large Tracts of Land being uncultivated, or what very great Advantages the Cultivation of them would be to this Nation in general, and the Strength and Security to themſelves in particular.

As I know my own Heart, I can truly ſay, I have as great a Regard to the Liberty and Property of all *Britons*, and deſire the Continuance of theſe invaluable Bleſſings we enjoy by our limited Conſtitution, as much as any Subject in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions;

but I am an Enemy to the fine-ſpun Notions, ſome Men do, in Regard to their Intereſt only, advance concerning them.

And being aware I may diſoblige ſome Perſons in ſaying what I intend on this Head, who have, either themſelves or their Predeceſſors for them, patenteed and ran out great Tracts of Land, which they cannot or will not ſettle or plant in their own Times, if ever their Children do in theirs; and will not ſell on any Conſideration, or but on moſt exorbitant Terms: It may not be improper to deſire ſuch to read the Chapter of *Property* in Mr. *Locke*'s *Eſſays concerning the true Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government.*

This Gentleman ſays, "That when God gave the "World in common; when he gave the Earth to the "Uſe of the Induſtrious, and Rational; it cannot be "ſuppoſed it ſhould remain common, and uncultivated:" And, I muſt ſay, ſo neither can it be ſuppoſed, that *the Crown* when it gave Leave for *Grants of Land* to be made to any of its Subjects, in any of its Colonies or Plantations, either expected or intended that ſuch Grants, in Whole or in Part, ſhould remain uncultivated.

Number of Men are to be preferred to the Largeneſs of Dominion, and it is certain that the Encreaſe of Hands, and the right Employment of them, is the great Art of Government; and that that Prince who ſhall be to wiſe, and godlike, as by eſtabliſhing Laws of Liberty, ſo ſecure Protection and Encouragement to the honeſt Induſtry of Mankind, againſt the Oppreſſion of Power, and Narrowneſs of Party, will conſequently be more potent than his Neighbours.

I hope when this Matter is conſidered, we ſhall not have any Man, who wiſhes the Security and Preſervation of his own Fortune, if wholly in *America;* the Encreaſe and Encouragement of People and Settlements in our Colonies and Plantations; the Happineſs and Proſperity, Strength and Greatneſs of *Great Britain;* that will look upon it as any Invaſion on the Liberty or Property of a *Britiſh* Subject, that Perſons who have great Tracts or Runs of Land in our Colonies and Plantations in *America*, and will not ſettle, nor ſell on any Conſideration, or but on the moſt exorbitant Terms, may be obliged to do the one or the other; whereby the Planters who have a Mind to enlarge their Plantations, may be

be enabled to do it, as alſo Perſons who have acquired any Money by Trade, Labour, or Servitude; or are induſtrious Men, and can be credited, may be encouraged to become *Settlers and fixed Inhabitants.*

The Grants of ſuch great Tracts of Land have been generally procured on very eaſy Terms, and very often upon wrong Suggeſtions; many Perſons hold ſome Thouſands of Acres a-piece, and largely ſurveyed; and ſome Patents I have heard include on Survey, double the Quantity of Land mentioned or intended to be granted; and from hence proceeds that ſo many Thouſand Acres are, as they call it, taken up, but not planted; which is what I am recommending to publick Notice, as being a Practice which drives away the Inhabitants, and Servants bred up only to Planting, as well as others, into Parts where their Labour is not ſo profitable, either to the Crown, or to the People of this Kingdom; as it would in our Colonies and Plantations not producing Commodities that are of *Britiſh* Growth; beſides, ſuch Practices are, without doubt, a chief Cauſe that ſome of them have had no better Succeſs, or made no greater Progreſs in Settlements.

Therefore how little ſoever I approve any of the Maxims of the *French* Government, I cannot help applauding the Encouragement given by it, to encreaſe and ſettle their Colonies and Plantations in *America;* particularly, *Obliging every Ship or Veſſel, bound to any of them, to carry ſuch a Number, or ſo many Perſons, in proportion to its Tunnage, Freight, or Paſſage, free; not permitting any Perſon to take up more Land than he ſhall plant or manure, in a limited Time, or is neceſſary for him in his Planting; and furniſhing Perſons, who will become Settlers, with Negroes, and all Materials and Requiſites, wanting in making Settlements, and only obliging them to repay the Publick, out of the Produce, One Third of what is produced, till thereby the Sum advanced be fully repaid.*

The want of our falling into Meaſures ſomewhat adequate to theſe, together with the falſe and narrow Notions entertained by too many of our Planters, is highly prejudicial, and may, in Time, be ruinous of our Intereſt in *America;* where beſides their Encreaſe in new Settlements, and Acquiſitions of Country, the Power of the *French* is already very great and formidable.

The general Good of the Community is ever to take place of that of any particular Perſons; and therefore if the large Tracts of Land in the Hands of any of his Majeſty's Subjects, uncultivated, were but ſettled, great and infinite would be the Benefit and Advantage to *Great Britain;* for it would not only be an Encouragement to our People to go to our Colonies and Plantations, but encreaſe our Seamen and Navigation, and add to the Strength and Riches of this Kingdom.

It could not fail, together with a Law, that no Negroes hereafter ſhould be brought up to any Trades, as *Coopers*, *Carpenters*, *Bricklayers*, *Smiths*, and other Artificers; of removing the Cauſe, which makes not only Servants, for any Term of Years, but other Perſons, with their Families, ſo much more unwilling to go than formerly to our Colonies and Plantations, as, indeed, ſo much more chargeable to ſend to them.

Beſides what I have been recommending, concerning the great Tracts of Land uncultivated, and for the better Peopling our Colonies and Plantations; it is certainly highly incumbent upon the Inhabitants of our *Sugar Iſlands* to incite their Legiſlatures, (if they deſire to preſerve and ſecure their Eſtates, in them either from Invaſions or Inſurrections) to take their preſent State and Condition into Conſideration, and to do every Thing that may be wanting or neceſſary to be done, for the Security and Preſervation of themſelves; particularly, as I hinted before, that not any Negro be hereafter brought up to any Trade, or permitted to work in any Cannoe or Wherry: That particular Encouragement be given to all Perſons that ſhall go and ſettle in them; That every Owner of Negroes be obliged to keep a White Man or Woman, in proportion to a certain Number of Negroes, or pay a certain Sum Weekly, Deficiency; and that Fortreſſes wanted be forthwith erected, and thoſe already erected be kept in good Repair, and well provided with Arms, and all kind of Ammunition.

As there will probably be a conſiderable Sum of Money ariſing by the *Deficiency Law*, it may be applied to the better Subſiſtance of the Soldiers in Garriſon; to the paying the Paſſages of Tradeſmen, and other People, that may come to the *Sugar Iſlands*, and have not wherewithal to do it themſelves; and to ſuch other Uſes as may be thought neceſſary; and it may not be amiſs that

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itmay be provided, that if any PLANTER keep any more White Men or Women than in proportion to his certain Number of Negroes, he ſhall be allowed for ſuch Number as he keeps more a Premium according to the Deficiency, and be paid for the ſame by the Receiver and Collector of ſuch Money.

Perhaps it may be ſafely advanced, that the Charge of keeping a White Man in proportion to a certain Number of Negroes, whether it were Ten or more, would be ſufficiently made good to the Planter, in the advanced Price of the Produce of his Plantation, or the Freight of it to *England;* if it were not conſidered, that the Negroes who are Tradeſmen (all Things allowed) would anſwer to the Planter near as much by working in the Field with the Hoe, as the Charge of the White Tradeſman; as alſo that greater Number of White People would conſume a greater Quantity of all kinds of Goods imported, and occaſion an Encreaſe of Settlements, which conſequently would leſſen the Publick Taxes on the preſent Inhabitants; which, in ſome of our Colonies and Plantations, have not only been thought burthenſome, but grievous.

Though ſome of theſe Things may deſerve the Notice of ſome of our Plantations in their publick Councils; yet it may, perhaps, be objected, that others of them may not be wanted, nor equally neceſſary in others of them; but, in ſuch Caſe, the Situation, Largeneſs of Territory, Number of White People capable to bear Arms, as other Things, are ſeverally to be conſidered; and even thoſe Plantations which are ſmall ſhould regard their Fortreſſes being kept in good Repair, and that they have ſuch a Number of White Men in them, capable to bear Arms, as may be able, as well to prevent an Invaſion, as repel an Inſurrection; which, in my poor Opinion, they cannot well have, whilſt there is Liberty allowed for Negroes to be brought up to Trades of all kind, and no *Deficiency-Law* in Force.

I am ſenſible that what is here repreſented, will be treated by ſome of our Planters as romantick; and by others as not poſſible to be entered upon; and I ſhall be told, they will cauſe ſuch a Charge and Expence, that few, if any Plantations, can be able to bear: I ſhall only ſay, that as Trade, all manner of Ways, occaſions Conſumption, bringing in a Reſort of Strangers, and an En-

creaſe of People to all Countries where it flouriſhes, and is encouraged; ſo, as much as the Number of People are more in any of our Colonies and Plantations, by ſo much is there expended (if not of its own Growth) of the Goods and Merchandize of *Great Britain*, and the greater Quantity of our Woollen and Linen Manufactures, Goods, and Merchandize, Proviſions, *&c.* that is expended by them, is amply compenſated to them in the Price and Quickneſs of a Market, or in the Freight of their Product for *Great Britain*.

Now, as Numbers of People muſt neceſſarily occaſion a greater Conſumption of all kind of Manufactures and Proviſions, ſo the greater any Country's Demand for them is, the greater will be its Trade; and conſequently the greater Number of Merchants who exerciſe Commerce to it, will render Goods much cheaper than in Countries where there is not ſo great a Conſumption, and always occaſion an Encreaſe of Shipping, which is ever attended with the Product of any Country's, being more in Demand, and ſelling at a much higher Price, which muſt be the Caſe whilſt the Product of it is vendible in any other Countries; but this is ſo obvious, and ſo well known, that I need not dwell longer upon it.

I hope that the Time is now come, that the Planters and Inhabitants of our Colonies and Plantations do perceive and will own, that the Preſervation of their Eſtates therein does moſtly depend upon their doing what is ſo neceſſary to be done; or ſo much wanted for the putting them on a better Footing, and in a better Condition than it is feared any of them are upon, or in at this Time; as well in regard to their Security, as in regard to their Intereſt.

As likewiſe that they will lay aſide the falſe and narrow Notions and Schemes, entertained by too many of them; ſuch as that the Produce of their Plantations will ſell the better, the fewer the Settlements, which induces them to engroſs great Tracts of Land; or that the laying Duties equal to Prohibitions on all Commodities of the ſame Species with their own Product, is the Way to ſecure a Vent for them; and that the raiſing of Money for the Support of the Government by Taxes on Trade, or imported Commodities, will eaſe their Landed Eſtates.

Would they lay aſide ſuch Notions and Schemes as theſe, which are all pernicious; and fall upon doing ſomething

ſomething among themſelves, *for the Encreaſe of People, and better Settlement of their Countries*, not only their own Intereſts in them would be the better ſecured, but the Intereſt of their Mother Country greatly promoted.

In what I have been ſaying, I have had my Thoughts more particularly at *Jamaica*, the moſt valuable Plantation belonging to the Crown, (its Situation conſidered) and an Iſland, if fully ſettled, that would produce three times the Quantity of *Sugar*, *Indico*, *Ginger*, *Cotton*, &c. it has hitherto done; and which, if we ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of, we muſt never afterwards expect to be formidable by our Naval Force in that Part of the World, as we have been for many Years paſt, by Means of that Iſland; and the Loſs of *Jamaica* will, probably, be followed with the Ruin of our Intereſt in *America*.

I hope, in any Thing I have ſaid, I ſhall not be underſtood as propoſing to level the Property, or rightful Poſſeſſions of any Perſons, intereſted in any of Our Colonies or Plantations, but only to reſtrain ſuch Methods as have been formerly practiſed, of taking up large Tracts of Land, and to oblige the Perſons who have taken them up, or are in Poſſeſſion of them, by virtue of old Grants, either to ſettle or ſell them; ſo that it may not be any longer a Bar to the Induſtry of others, and that our Colonies and Plantations may be a laſting Revenue to the Crown, an inexhauſtible Mine of Treaſure to *Great Britain*, and a great Means to multiply Seamen, and increaſe our Navigation.

As it is the Buſineſs of the Planters, and Inhabitants of our Colonies and Plantations, to provide againſt Invaſions and Inſurrections, and to regard the Security and Preſervation of their Fortunes in them; it muſt likewiſe be the Concern and Care of all entruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of this Kingdom, that the Perſons who may be ſent to repreſent the Crown be Men of Abilities, Experience, Courage, Temper, and Virtue; They ought to be endowed with ſuch a general Knowledge, as may comprehend the Nature of the Soil where they are; what Improvements it is capable of, and what Trades will be moſt advantageous to it: They ſhould be able likewiſe to look into the Genius of the People they are to govern: They ſhould be Men of Diſcipline, Sobriety, and Juſtice; for they who are not ſo

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in their own Perſons, can expect no Order, nor compel others to obey the Laws; a People to whom Riches and Plenty furniſh Matter for Vice and Luxury, ſhould be governed by a ſtrict and ſkilful Hand; which may reform their Manners, and, at the ſame Time, both promote and direct their Induſtry.

The Welfare of our Colonies and Plantations will very much depend upon the Conduct and Behaviour of ſuch as are ſent to reſide and govern there by the King's Authority: And as that, of all Countries whatſoever, depends upon good Government; ſo, without Doubt, our Colonies and Plantations will flouriſh, if the Inhabitants do all that may be wanting and neceſſary on their Parts towards it; and if they are intruſted to honeſt, diſcreet, and ſkilful Hands, who will let them perceive they enjoy all the Rights and Liberties of *Britains*, though not in *Great Britain*.

It is an allowed Maxim, *That Induſtry has its firſt Foundation in Liberty*; and it is certain, that they who either are Slaves, or perceive their Freedom precarious, can neither ſucceed in Trade, nor meliorate a Country. I will not pretend to determine for or againſt the Opinions I have ſeen of our great Lawyers, whether the People in our Colonies and Plantations have a Right to all the Privileges of *Britiſh Subjects*: But the contrary Notion is too much encouraged, upon which Account it will, peradventure, be a great Security and Encouragement to the induſtrious People in that Part of the World, if a *declaratory Law* were made, that *Britons* have a Right to *all the Laws of* Great Britain, *for the Security of the Subject, while they remain in the Countries under the Dominion of this Kingdom*.

It is abſolutely neceſſary, that the Perſons to whom the Government of the Colonies and Plantations are entruſted, ſhould endeavour to hinder the Growth of all Sort of Vice, as Intemperance and Luxury; for theſe are the Parent of Want; and Want begets in the Minds of Men, Diſobedience and Deſire of Change: They ſhould think it their Duty to promote Virtue, and to encourage Merit of any Kind, and to give it their helping Hand: They ſhould diſcountenance Immoralities of all Sorts, and make them a Bar to any Preferments or Honours: They ſhould look into the Lives of the Clergy, and ſee that no Doctrines are preached, nor Principles advanced,

advanced, that are deſtructive to the very Fundamentals of Religion itſelf, the Rights and Liberties of *Engliſhmen*, and the Settlement of the Crown in the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*.

They ſhould not enflame, but rather reconcile thoſe Differences which perhaps may ariſe among People of ſuch different Perſuaſions, as may be under their Government; and cultivate in the Minds of the Inhabitants ſober Living, ſincere Friendſhip, general Obſervance of the Devotion each profeſſes, Charity, Meekneſs, and Piety, eſpecially among thoſe who are truſted to guide the Conſciences of others; in fine, they ſhould endeavour, that the young Men of better Rank and Fortune, be early ſeaſoned with a Love of *Great Britain*, their Mother Country; that when they return hither with the Riches, the Induſtry of their Parents has acquired, they may become good Patriots here, and uſeful Members of the Commonwealth.

Having thus pointed at ſome Things deſerving the Conſideration as well as the Public Councils, in our Colonies and Plantations, as of the Government here; and not only ſhowed what an immenſe Profit they are to this Kingdom, but endeavoured at ſhowing how much more profitable they might be to it, I think it incumbent upon me, as the Labour of Negroes is the principal Foundation of our Riches from the Plantations, to ſpeak here of our Trade to *Africa;* which is a Trade of the greateſt Value to this Kingdom, if we conſider the Number of Ships annually employed in it, the great Export of our Manufactures, and other Goods to that Coaſt, and the Value of the Product of our Plantations, annually ſent to *Great Britain*.

It is ſuch a Trade as requires our greateſt Care, and tendereſt Regard, how it may be moſt effectually ſecured and preſerved to this Kingdom; and for my own Part, I ſhould be glad to ſee a Scheme from that Body of Men, who have laboured to exclude all his Majeſty's Subjects but themſelves, from trading to *Africa*, how THEY propoſe to exclude or prevent the Subjects of any other Nation.

For is not the Coaſt of *Africa* of very large Extent, at leaſt a thouſand Leagues, and the Company's Settlements as other Nations, but on a ſmaller Part of it? Is the Trade in general, any Ways dependant on the Settlements?

ments? Or have not the *Turkey* Company the ſame Reaſon to claim the Property of all the Lands of the *Grand Seignior*, becauſe they have Factories and Houſes in *Turkey*, as the *African* Company to claim a Property of all the Lands of the Princes in *Africa*, to whom they pay Rent for the Ground whereupon their Factories ſtand? If the Company have a Property to the ſole Trade of *Africa*, why do all other Nations trade to the *Places, as well where their Factories are, as where they are not?*

As the REVOLUTION (brought about by the Hand of GOD, through his Inſtrument, King *William* the Third, of *glorious and immortal Memory*,) delivered the People of *Great Britain* from Popery and Slavery; ſo it gave them that which is inſeparable to their being Freemen, a *Liberty of trading to any Part of the known World*; to which they were not prohibited, by their own Conſent; that is, by the joint Act of King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled.

For notwithſtanding before the REVOLUTION, *Engliſhmen* were not prohibited trading to any Part of the World; as they now ſtand to the *Eaſt Indies*, and *South Seas*, by Act of Parliament, yet they were terrified, and moleſted in their Trade, both to the *Eaſt Indies*, and *Africa*; and durſt not trade ſo freely, as it had been for the Intereſt of the Nation they ſhould have done, for Fear of having their Ships and Effects ſeized by, and confiſcated to the Uſe of Perſons, who had obtained Grants from the Crown of theſe Trades ſolely to themſelves; who were not only aſſiſted in doing this by our own Princes, in their lending them their Ships of War to cruize for Interlopers, (as they were called) but by our Judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall:* But ſince the happy Revolution, they were neither aſſiſted by King *William* in making of Seizures, nor did they find they had any Power by Law, to confiſcate any Interlopers Ships and Effects to their own Uſes; when the Courts of Juſtice came to be placed in the Hands of Men of Integrity and Uprightneſs, theſe Men paid dear for any Confiſcation they made.

Thereupon both Companies applied themſelves to the Crown and Parliament; and the *African* Company, with whom I have here only to do, petitioned the Houſe of Commons, and endeavoured to obtain an *Act of Par-*

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liament, to exclude all other Perſons from trading to *Africa*; at laſt, after a Diſpute of ſome Years, between the Royal *African* Company, and the Merchants trading to our Colonies and Plantations. a Law paſſed, the ninth and tenth *Gulielmi tertii*. Entitled, *An Act to ſettle the Trade to* Africa; which was to have Countinuance for thirteen Years, and from thence to the End of the next *Seſſion of Parliament*, whereby, it was enacted, *That it ſhould and might be lawful to and for any of the Subjects of his Majeſty's Realms of* England, *as well as the ſaid Company, to trade from* England, *or any of his Majeſty's Plantations and Colonies in* America, *to the Coaſt of* Africa, *between Cape* Blanco *and Cape* Mount, *'tis anſwering and paying a* 'Duty *of* 10 per Cent. *&c.* 'That all Perſons trading 'to the Coaſt of *Afric*, as aforeſaid, and paying the 'Duties by this Act impoſed, ſhall have the ſame Pro-'tection, Security, and Defence, for their Perſons, 'Ships, and Goods, by, from, and in all the ſaid Forts 'and Caſtles, and the like Freedom and Security for 'their Negotiation and Trade, to all Intents and Pur-'poſes whatſoever, as the ſaid Companies, their 'Agents, Factors, and Aſſigns, and their Ships and 'Goods have, may, or ſhall have.

'And that all and every Perſon and Perſons trading 'to *Africa*, and paying the Duties as aforeſaid, may, 'and are hereby impowered, at their own Charge to 'ſettle Factories on any Part of *Africa*, within the Li-'mits aforeſaid, according as they ſhall judge neceſſary, 'and covenient for the carrying on their Trade, without 'any Lets, Hindrance, or Moleſtation from the ſaid 'Company, their Agents, Factors, or Aſſigns. And 'that all Perſons not Members of the ſaid Company ſo 'trading and paying the Duties as aforeſaid, ſhall, to-'gether with their Ships and Goods, be free from all Mo-'leſtation, Hindrances, Reſtraints, Arreſts, Seizures, 'Penalties, or other Impoſitions whatſoever from the 'ſaid Company, their Agents, Factors or Aſſigns, for 'or by Reaſon of their ſo trading, any Uſage or Cuſtom 'to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.'

Note, by this Act the Company as well as other Perſons were obliged to pay the Duty of 10 *per Cent.* on all Goods exported to *Africa*, which was applied to maintain, ſupport, and defend all ſuch Forts and Caſtles as

were

were erected for the Preſervation, Improvement, and well carrying on that Trade.

In the Year 1708, the *African* Company applied again to the Crown and Parliament, though the Act mentioned was in Force till *July* 1713, and pray for an excluſive Trade to *Africa*. That Seſſions the Houſe of Commons took the Diſpute between them and the ſeparate Traders, (as then called,) into Conſideration; and it appeared to the Houſe, upon Examination, that the *African* Company under an excluſive Trade in the Time of Peace, between 1680 and 1689, employed Two hundred and fifty-nine Ships, being about twenty-eight Ships *per Annum*: and delivered into the Plantations, 46,396 Negroes, being 5155 *per Annum*.

That the Negroes imported after the Trade was laid open, into *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and *Antegua*, only amounted to 42000 for three Years of Peace, which is near as many Negroes delivered to thoſe three Iſlands only in three Years under an open Trade, as there were in nine Years of Peace by the Company, into all the Plantations when excluſive.

That at the Time of the Examination, though we were in War, there were employed in this Trade above a hundred Ships capable of carrying 25,000 Negroes a Year into the Plantations belonging to the ſeparate Traders; which demonſtrated that the Trade was above four Times as much encreaſed as when it was excluſive, though that was a Time of Peace;—And that the Export of the Manufactures, of Coarſe *perfects*, to that Coaſt, had been encreaſed from 4000 to 70,000 Pieces *per Annum*.

Theſe were ſome of the Reaſons that induced the Houſe of Commons to reſolve, *That the Trade to* Africa *ought to be free and open to all her Majeſty's Subjects of* Great Britain *and the Plantations*.

Notwithſtanding this Reſolution, the Company brought this Diſpute into the Houſe ſeveral Seſſions afterwards, and when under Conſideration, it has been reſolved as above, in different Houſes of Commons; and the laſt Time it came before one, in Purſuance of the ſaid Reſolution, a Bill was paſſed and ſent to the Lords Houſe, where it was read twice, and committed, entitled, *A Bill for eſtabliſhing the Trade to* Africk *in a regulated Company*; whereby it was intended to be enacted, 'That it

'ſhould

'ſhould and might be lawful to and for all and every 'the Subjects of *Great Britain*, and the Plantations 'thereunto belonging, to trade to any Part or Place of '*Africa*, between *Cape Blanco* and the *Cape of Good* '*Hope*, in ſuch Goods and in ſuch Quantities as he or 'they ſhould think fit, paying ſuch Duties as the Com-'pany by that Act to be eſtabliſhed, ſhould be impow-'ered to lay on the ſaid Trade.

'That her Majeſty by her Charter, might impower 'the ſaid regulated Company ſo to be eſtabliſhed, to 'make By-Laws, Rules, and Ordinances, for the good 'Government of the ſaid Trade, and grant ſuch other 'Powers as might be neceſſary for carrying on and en-'larging the ſaid Trade, and for laying and collecting a 'Duty for the Support thereof; but ſo as ſuch Corpo-'ration ſhall not be thereby impowered to trade in one 'joint Stock, excluſive of any of her Majeſty's Subjects, 'or to oblige any of the Members of ſuch Corporation, 'to trade in any other Manner than by the ſaid Act 'were impowered to do.

'That the Governor and Company hereby eſtabliſhed, 'may, by their By-Laws, appoint the Manner for the 'Payment of the ſaid Duties in ſuch Time and Form as 'ſhall be thought moſt convenient, and as the Neceſſity 'of the ſaid Company and the Benefit of the ſaid 'Trade ſhall require, provided no ſuch By-Laws, Or-'dinances, or Rules, ſhall any Way extend to the li-'miting what Sort or Quantity of Goods any Perſon 'who is free of the ſaid Company ſhall export to *Africa*, 'or what he ſhall bring from thence, nor of whom or 'for what he ſhall buy or ſell the ſame; it being the 'Intent of this Act; that every Member of the ſaid 'Company ſhall be left free in thoſe Matters, that a 'Monopoly may be avoided, and the Exportation of the 'Woollen, and other Manufactures of this Kingdom 'may be encreaſed.'

Theſe are the Steps that have been taken in Relation to the Trade to *Africa*, ſo very advantageous to *Great Britain*, by conducing ſo much to the Support of our Tobacco Colonies, and Sugar Plantations; and ſince ſo great a Part of our foreign Trade ariſeth from them, they ought undoubtedly to have all due Encouragement, and to be ſupplied at the moſt eaſy and reaſonable Rates with Negroes.

Experience,

Experience, the ſureſt Guide we can follow in Matter of Trade, has demonſtrably taught us, that this Trade has not been carried on moſt to the Advantage of this Kingdom by a Company with a joint Stock. But that ſince it has been free and open, it has greatly encreaſed; the Plantations have been much better ſupplied with Negroes, aud the Advantages to the Kingdom have been infinitely greater.

'Tis undoubtedly true, that when the Company had the ſole Trade almoſt to themſelves, that they did not ſupply the Plantations with ſuch a Plenty of Negroes as was requiſite; and that as they forced them to accept of ſuch a Sort as they thought fit to bring; ſo they put their own Price upon the Product of the Plantations. If it ſhall be alledged, that the *African* Company, when excluſive, at any Time ſold choice Negroes, from 14 to 18 *l. per* Head, it may be remembered, that as they ſet their own Price on the Product of the Plantations, ſo Sugar did not ſell in any of them for half the Price, it has done for many Years paſt, or ſince the Trade to *Africa* was laid open.

It muſt certainly be prudent, in any Trade, Manufacture, or Buſineſs, to render the firſt Materials as cheap as poſſible; Negroes are the firſt and moſt neceſſary Materials for planting; from whence it follows, that all Meaſures ſhould be taken that may produce ſuch a Plenty of them, as may be an Encouragement to the induſtrious Planter.

Every People, the more they are innured to Trade, and encreaſed in it, the better they come to an Underſtanding of their Intereſt in their Dealings; and therefore it cannot well be a Wonder, if Negroes ſhould be dearer than ſome Years before the Trade was laid open.

But that Negroes have been of late Years, both ſcarcer and dearer to us than formerly, may be accounted for, as well from our own Demand of them, to ſupply the Plantations, and the Demand of the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Portugueſe*, the two laſt much greater for ten Years paſt, than ever before, as from laying the Trade to *Africa* open; and all Things, both in Reſpect to the Merchant and Planter conſidered, Negroes are not near ſo dear on the Coaſt of *Africa*, as has been ſuggeſted by the Patrons of an excluſive Company, nay, not much dearer, than when we had one eſtabliſhed, tho' only by Virtue of the Prerogative Royal.

Neither

Neither we, nor any other Nation of *Europe*, are Owners of any Soil on the Coaſt of *Africa*; and ſuch as have Forts and Caſtles thereon, dare not ſtir beyond the Reach of their Guns; and as we are enabled by our Manufactures and Goods of all Kind to trade the cheapeſt and moſt advantageouſly to *Africa*, and have a ſuperior Strength to any Nation to protect our Trade on that Coaſt and elſewhere; I am in no Manner of Fear that any of our Neighbours can either rival us in it, or beat us out of it; but, on the contrary, am of Opinion, that we ſhall ever have the Advantage of all Nations in Trade to the Coaſt of *Africa*, if we do not confine it to an excluſive Company.

In treating of our Colonies and Plantations, their Product and Trade, I have diſcourſed on the *African* Trade, by Reaſon it is the Spring and Parent whence the others flow, and are dependent, and therefore properly fell in this Diviſion, the Connexion being ſuch as would not have been ſo clear in a ſeparate Diſcourſe.

I have not in theſe Conſiderations on our Plantation Trade, taken any Notice of *Bermudas* and *Providence*, or the *Bahama Iſlands*, as they are of little or no Conſideration for their Produce, or otherwiſe uſeful to us, or neceſſary to be maintained by us, than as they may become dangerous to our Trade and Navigation in an Enemy's Hand, or as they may be a Receptacle for our Ships, and a Service to us, in annoying and interrupting the Trade of either the *French* or *Spaniards*, in that Part of the World.

Nor have I conſidered *Newfoundland* under this Head, the Fiſhery whereof is of very great Concern to us, both to preſerve and encourage; and in which we had, about a hundred Years ago, upwards of 200 Sail of Ships annually employed, when we furniſhed all *Europe* with Fiſh, how few Ships ſoever we may now employ in this Trade.

F I N I S.